

OFFICE MEMORANDUM • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-78661)(7-2) DATE: 1/9/56
FROM : SA [REDACTED]
SUBJECT: RUBIN BRAININ CHILDRENS CLINIC
IS-C

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SOURCE: [REDACTED] (Protect by
T symbol)

RELIABILITY: Who has furnished reliable
information in the past.

DATE OF ACTIVITY: 11/22/55

DATE RECEIVED: 12/8/55

RECEIVED BY:

SA [REDACTED]

LOCATION: [REDACTED]

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The information contained in this report should
not be disseminated outside of the Bureau unless it is
paraphrased.

1 - [REDACTED] (P&C)(7-4)
1 - 100-48260 (J. BUDISH)(12-15)
1 - 100-21 ("MORNING FREIHEIT")(7-2)
1 - 100-80635 (CP, USA, JEWISH ACTIVITIES)(12-14)
1 - 100-4931 (CP, USA)(12-14)
1 - 100-95583 (CP, USA LINE)(12-14)
1 - 100-64391 [REDACTED] (20-13)
1 - 100-99315 (SIMON FEDERMAN)(20-11)
1 - 100-78661 (AMERICAN FEDERATION OF POLISH JEWS)(7-2)
1 - 100-86624 (CP, USA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)(12-14)
1 - 100-74560 (CP, USA FUNDS)(12-14)
1 - 100-68022 [REDACTED] (12-14)
1 - 100-1443 [REDACTED] (12-15)
1 - 100-114259 [REDACTED] (20-11)
1 - 100-82401 [REDACTED] (20-11)
1 - 100-14861 [REDACTED]

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APH:mcr
(17)

100-95583-224

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JAN 11 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

MEMO
NY 100-78661

The informant reported on the meeting of the
Rubin Brainin Children Clinic Committee held on 11/22/55,
at the Adelphi Hall in NY.

C O P Y

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Report

Committee for the Rubin
Brainin Children - Clinic
in Israel Activities.

Dec. 3, 1955
New York

J. Budish, presently the editor of the English page of the week-end edition of the Morning Freiheit, told me that the Rubin Brainin Children - Clinic (for Israel) Committee had a meeting on November 22nd, 1955 at the Adelphi Hall in New York.

Some 60 representatatives of progressive mass organizations came to this meeting.

The aim of this meeting was the setting up of a widder committee which will direct the activities in the United States for the Rubin Brainin Children - Clinic in Israel.

The chairman of the meeting was []

[]

According to Budish:

[] told the meeting that the building of the Rubin Brainin Clinic in Israel is important not only because it will serve as a "humanitarian project" but only because the "Israelis who will receive the services at this Clinic will know that this Clinic was build by the progressives in America and is under the supervision of the progressives in Israel."

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[] also underlined that in the "building and strenghtening the progressive movement in Israel such projects as the building of a clinic is very important" and that "we must use every means to show the people of Israel that the

att #1 to 100-95583-224 *h*

progressive people in America are concerned about the welfare of the people in Israel;" that "in this way we will win to our side many people in Israel and those help to strengthen the progressive movement in Israel."

Simon Federman, president of the American Federation of Polish Jews, spoke about the present situation in Israel in connection with the Israeli-Arab dispute and the sale of arms to Egypt by Czechoslovakia. "Federman approved the selling of arms to Egypt 'which gives the Soviet Union a foothold in the near East. He stated that the fact is that the Soviet Union's main objective there is not to incite the Arab nations against Israel but to prevent an Arab-Israel War. Federman stated that the 'Forwards Minded' (the Forwards is a Jewish Socialist newspaper published in N.Y. and is strongly anti-Communist) Israeli Government lined itself up with the enemies of Israel against the Soviet Union and those exposed that part of the world to the danger of a war. The Soviet Union had to and did find a way to step in there and to hold that front for the preservation of peace."

Budish said that there was a "lively discussion" on the speeches of Federman and [] and that the speakers agreed with the points raised by the [] and Federman.

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The meeting decided to enlarge the present Rubin Brainin Clinic Committee by asking every Jewish mass organization to have at least one representative on the Committee.

The meeting adopted a resolution of "solidarity with the progressive forces of Israel." It was also decided to have a "continuous fund drive" for the building of the Children Clinic in Israel and to help in the building of the progressive movement in Israel "which is the only hope for the peacefull co-existence of Israel and the Arab Nations."

20 people were elected to the Rubin Brainin Children-Clinic Committee at this meeting which will be enlarged with more representatives from different mass organizations.

[redacted] was elected as secretary of the Committee.

Among the 20 members of the Committee are:
J. Budish, [redacted], Simon
Federman, [redacted] and [redacted].

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J. Morris

C O P Y
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Report

Communist Party - Civil
Rights Congress
Activities.

Dec. 14, 1955
New York.

[redacted] member of the N.Y. State Committee of the Communist Party and the C.P.'s director of defense work, told me that the C.R.C. is "definitely going out of buisness."

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He told me that the National Committee of the Communist Party discussed the question of C.R.C. and came to the conclusion that "the C.R.C. has lived out it's usefulness and should be liquidated."

According to [redacted] this decision of the National Committee of the C.P. was "conveyed to the National Conference of the party which was held in New York a few days ago and a conference committee on defense approved the decision of the National Committee."

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[redacted] said that during the discussion of the C.R.C. the National Conference of the Communist Party recommended the organization of "some kind of a new defense organization details of which should be worked out by the National Committee of the party." [redacted] said that from conversations he had on this subject since the C.P.'s national conference "it seems to me that that there wouldn't be a uniformed national defense organization. The plan is to set up different defense committees under different names in the important centers all over the country. The C.R.C. organizations and the different defense committees will be utilized for the new defense set up."

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att # 16 100-95583-225

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[] said that the National Committee of the C.P. is now working on the plan of forming the new defense organization and as soon as this will be ready "there will be an announcement in the press about the liquidation of the C.R.C. and we will start working on organizing the new defense groups."

[] said that the press announcement about the "folding up of the C.R.C. will be made in a couple of weeks or so."

"What is about a center? A central organization to direct the work of the different committees?"

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[] said: "No, I don't think there will be such a center-from where the defense activities will be directed. You mean something like C.R.C? No. Well, there is a center from where direction will be given - the party."

[] said that the new defense organization, the defense committees will be organized as "broad front mass organizations - this will be the basic character of the new defense set up."

J. Morris

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80675)(7-2)

1/12/56

SA [REDACTED]

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS
IS-C

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SOURCE:

[REDACTED] (Protect by
T symbol)

RELIABILITY:

Who has furnished reliable
information in the past.

DATE OF ACTIVITY:

Written report dated 12/14/55.

DATE RECEIVED:

12/15/55

RECEIVED BY:

SA [REDACTED]

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LOCATION:

[REDACTED]

The information contained in this report should not
be disseminated outside of the Bureau unless it is paraphrased.

The informant furnished information related to
him by [REDACTED] member of the NY State Committee of
the CP with respect to the liquidation of the CRC.

The Civil Rights Congress has been designated by
the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to
Executive Order 10450.

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- 1 - [REDACTED] (P&C)(7-4)
- 1 - 100-51955 [REDACTED] (20-10)
- 1 - 100-26603 (CP, DISTRICT #2)(12-14)
- 1 - 100-4931 (CP, USA)(12-14)
- ① - 100-95583 (CP, USA, LINE)(12-14)
- 1 - 100-98557 (CP, USA DEFENSE ACTIVITIES)(12-14)

100-95583 - 225

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JAN 12 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[REDACTED]

APH:mcg
(7)

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-4931)

DATE: 1/26/56

FROM : SA [REDACTED] (12-14)

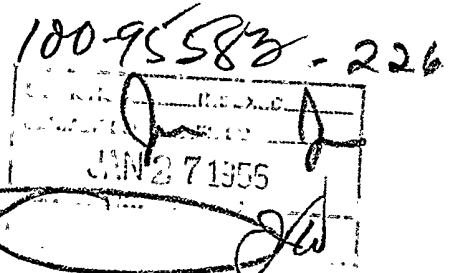
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SUBJECT: CP - USA
IS-C

The following teletype was sent to the Bureau on 1/20/56:

1-NY 100-86624 (CP - USA, Int'l Rel.) (12-14)
1-NY 134-91 (P & C) (6)
1-NY 100-9365 (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (19)
1-NY 100-80641 (CP - USA Organization) (12-14)
1-NY 100-13480 [REDACTED] (12-14)
1-NY 100-81675 (CP - USA, P & C) (12-14)
1-NY 100-87211 (CP - USA, Factionalism) (12-14)
1-NY 100-95583 (CP Line) (12-14)
1-NY 100-8057 (EUGENE DENNIS) (19)
1-NY 97-169 (Publishers New Press, Inc.) (7-2)
1-NY 100-110469 (CP - USA Alternate Leadership) (12-14)
1-NY 100-96985 (CP - USA Underground) (19)
1-NY 100-89816 (FRED FINE) (19)
1-NY 100-16785 (JAMES JACKSON) (19)
1-NY 100-50983 [REDACTED] (19)
1-NY 100-81752 (COMPROS) (7-5)
1-NY 100-102320 (Internal Security Act of 1950) (7-5)
1-NY 100-13483 (BETTY GANNETT) (7-5)
1-NY 100-92763 (PETTIS PERRY) (7-5)
1-NY 100-1696 (ELIZABETH G. FLYNN) (7-5)
1-NY 100-66211 [REDACTED] (7-5)
1-NY 100-56579 (PHIL BART) (19)
1-NY 100-18673 [REDACTED] (7-5)
1-NY 100-18672 (MAX WEISS) (19)
1-NY 100-98699 (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT) (19)
1-NY 100-9573 (NED SPARKS) (19)
1-NY 100-17923 (JOHN GATES) (19)
1-NY 100-23825 (BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.) (7-5)
1-NY 100-89691 (Dom. Adm. Issues) (12-14)
1-NY 100-121760 (CP Headquarters) (12-14)
1-NY 100-51820 (Jefferson School) (7-2)
1-NY 100-26603-Ch2 (NY County CP) (12-14)
1-NY 100-26603 (CP-NY State) (12-14)
1-NY 100-80638 (CP - USA Membership) (12-14)
1-NY 100-18065 (JACK STACHEL) (19)
1-NY 100-105699 (CP - USA Comfugs) (19)
1-NY 100-81338 (CP Security Measures) (19)
1-NY 100-4931 (CP - USA)

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DR:exk
(38)

MEMO

CP, USA; IS - C. BUFILE ONE HUNDRED DASH THREE. NY SIX NINE FOUR DASH S ADVISED TODAY THAT HE CONFERRED ON JANUARY NINETEENTH, FIFTY SIX, WITH WILLIAM Z FOSTER, OSTENSIBLY FOR PURPOSE OF INFORMING LATTER THAT INFORMANT PLANS TO GO TO CANADA SOON, AND TO OBTAIN FROM FOSTER ANY MESSAGE LATTER MIGHT WISH TO SEND TO CANADIAN CP. IT IS SUGGESTED EXTREME CAUTION BE EXERCISED IN THE DISSEMINATION OF FOLLOWING INFO INASMUCH AS MUCH OF THE INFO BY ITS VERY NATURE TENDS TO IDENTIFY NY SIX NINE FOUR S AS THE SOURCE THEREOF. FOSTER INSTRUCTED NY SIX NINE FOUR S TO INFORM CANADIAN CP LEADERS THAT CP, USA LEADERSHIP IS VERY CRITICAL OF JOSEPH STAROBINS RECENT BOOK (TITLE NOT MENTIONED) IN THAT "IT FALSIFIES THE PARTYS FIGHT AGAINST WAR," INDICATING THAT "THERE NEVER WAS A DINGER OF WAR," IN THAT, FURTHER, AS NOTED BY BOTH FOSTER AND EUGENE DENNIS, "IT ATTACKS THE FRENCH CP," AND IN THAT "IT PLAYS OFF CHINA AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION." FOSTER ALSO MENTIONED THAT HIS OWN LATEST BOOK (TITLE NOT MENTIONED) IS NOW READY FOR THE PRESS, AND WILL BE PUBLISHED "IN TIME FOR MY

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BIRTHDAY." ACCORDING TO FOSTER, ALTHOUGH HIS BIRTHDAY IS MARCH TWENTY FIFTH, THERE WILL BE A CELEBRATION THEREOF "IN A LARGE HALL" ON MARCH SECOND. FOSTER REQUESTED THAT NY SIX NINE FOUR S ADVISE CANADIAN CP THAT FOSTER HAS WRITTEN TWO ARTICLES "OF BASIC IMPORTANCE," ONE ENTITLED, "HAS WORLD CAPITALISM STABILIZED ITSELF?" TO APPEAR IN THE NEXT ISSUE OF "POLITICAL AFFAIRS," AND THE OTHER, ENTITLED "THE ADVANCE OF SOCIALISM TO WORLD LEADERSHIP," TO APPEAR SOON IN THE DAILY WORKER. ACCORDING TO FOSTER, THESE ARTICLES ARE THE MOST IMPORTANT HE EVER HAS WRITTEN, AND WERE THE SUBJECT OF SERIOUS DISCUSSION IN THE PARTY. THE ARTICLES REPRESENT NOT ONLY FOSTERS THINKING, BUT ALSO THE PARTYS THINKING. THE POLITICAL AFFAIRS ARTICLE WILL REFLECT THAT WORLD SOCIALISM IS STRONGER TODAY THAN EVER BEFORE, AND THAT CAPITALISM IS RETROGRESSING. THIS, ACCORDING TO FOSTER, IS THE REASON THE PARTY POLICY TODAY IS AGAINST "THE ISOLATIONISM" OF THE PAST FIVE YEARS. FOSTER ALSO STATED THAT HIGH LEVEL CP DISCUSSIONS CONTINUE REGARDING THE DISTRIBUTION OF SURPLUS CP LEADERSHIP, AND THAT SUCH DISCUSSIONS WILL CONTINUE FOR SOME TIME. THE MATTER OF DISTRIBUTION OF SURPLUS LEADERSHIP IS BEING DISCUSSED NOT ONLY AS REGARDS "NATIONAL

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DISTRIBUTION" BUT ALSO AS REGARDS "DISTRICT DISTRIBUTION." FOSTER STATED THAT WHEN HE LAST CONFERRED WITH NY SIX NINE FOUR S HE WAS AWARE THAT THE CP FUGITIVES FINE, JACKSON AND [REDACTED] WOULD SURRENDER, BUT THAT THE MATTER WAS "TOP SECRET," KNOWN ONLY TO TWO PEOPLE, AND THAT FOSTER COULD NOT GIVE NY SIX NINE FOUR S A HINT THEREOF. FOSTER STATED CP, USA LEADERSHIP IS STRONGER TODAY THAN EVER BEFORE IN THAT SINCE NINETEEN FIFTY ONE THE PARTY HAS HAD FIVE SUCCESSIVE LEADERSHIPS, ALL OF SAID LEADERS HAVING LEARNED MUCH DURING THEIR TENURE OF OFFICE. HE REFERRED TO THE FIRST LEADERSHIP AS "THE GUYS WHO FIRST WENT TO JAIL," THE SECOND HE REFERRED TO AS "BETTY GANNETT, ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, AND PETTIS PERRY," THE THIRD AS "[REDACTED] AND PHIL BART," THE FOURTH AS "MAX WEISS, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, AND NED SPARKS" (AS OF TWO WEEKS AGO), AND THE CURRENT LEADERSHIP AS "THE OLD LEADING GUYS SUCH AS DENNIS, GATES, DAVIS (AFTER HIS PAROLE HAS TERMINATED) AND FRED FINE." FOSTER STATED THAT ALTHOUGH THE PARTYS AIM IS TO OPERATE AS "AN OPEN PARTY" THERE REMAINS A SMALL BUT GOOD FRAMEWORK OF THE UNDERGROUND APPARATUS COMPOSED OF PEOPLE WHO KNOW WHAT TO DO NOW. IN THE EVENT THE McCARRAN ACT, SPECIFICALLY THE REGISTRATION

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CLAUSE THEREOF, SHOULD BE AFFIRMED ON APPEAL, THE CP UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES WILL ALLOW THE MEMBERSHIP IN GENERAL TO REGISTER. A FEW TOP LEADERS "MAY" REGISTER "IF COMPELLED TO." IF HOWEVER THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD INSTITUTE WHOLESALE ARRESTS OF CP OFFICIALS AND OF RANK AND FILE PARTY MEMBERS WHO REFUSE TO REGISTER, THE UNDERGROUND WILL BE NECESSARILY REACTIVATED "AS A LAST EXTREME." FOSTER STATED HE DOES NOT BELIEVE "THE ADMINISTRATION" WILL FORCE THE PARTY "UNDER." THE PARTY IS SO CONFIDENT OF WHAT THE ADMINISTRATION POLICY WITH RESPECT TO THE PARTY IS THAT NEW HEADQUARTERS-- NATIONAL AND STATE--ARE BEING SET UP AT THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL. HE STATED THAT THE OLD HEADQUARTERS IS BEING RETAINED AS HEADQUARTERS "FOR THE COUNTY." REGARDING CP MEMBERSHIP LOSSES, FOSTER STATED THAT THE PARTY HAS SUFFERED SERIOUS LOSSES, BUT THAT "PEOPLE WILL BE REGISTERING." HE ALSO MENTIONED THAT "THE BANNER PARTY" IS IN CALIFORNIA. IN REPLY TO NY SIX NINE FOUR S' COMMENT THAT "NEW YORK USED TO BE THE BIG ONE," FOSTER SAID THAT "THEY LOST A LOT HERE." HE SAID THAT "THE SITUATION OF THE PEOPLES WORLD ON THE WEST COAST IS A GOOD ONE," BUT THAT THE DAILY WORKER HERE IS A SERIOUS PROBLEM. WHAT FOSTER IS CONCERNED ABOUT IS THAT

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"THE DW FINANCIAL CAMPAIGN IS SLOWER THAN EVER." ALTHOUGH SOME PEOPLE, ACCORDING TO FOSTER, SAY THE SITUATION IS NORMAL INSOFAR AS "THE DW ALWAYS IS IN A CRISIS," FOSTER DOES NOT AGREE WITH THIS OPINION. REGARDING CURRENT CP LEADERSHIP, FOSTER STATED THAT LEADERSHIP IS BECOMING NORMAL INASMUCH AS "WE AGAIN HAVE A SECRETARIAT, A POLITICAL COMMITTEE, AND A NATIONAL COMMITTEE." HE DID NOT IDENTIFY THE MEMBERS THEREOF. WITH RESPECT TO JACK STACHEL, CONCERNING WHOM THE INFORMANT INQUIRED REGARDING STACHELS "COMING BACK TO LEADERSHIP," FOSTER SAID THAT STACHEL WOULD NOT RETURN TO ACTIVE LEADERSHIP "BECAUSE HE FACES THE DANGER OF THE GOVERNMENTS DEPORTING HIM ANY DAY NOW--AS THEY DID CLAUDIA JONES." DISSEMINATION OF ABOVE WILL BE MADE TO ALL PERTINENT NY CASE FILES. IN VIEW OF WIDESPREAD INTEREST OF THIS INFO DISSEMINATION TO OTHER OFFICES IS BEING LEFT TO DISCRETION OF BUREAU UACB.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C40)(20-10) DATE: 1/19/56

FROM : SA [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: CP, USA
BRONX COUNTY
DISTRICT #2
NEW YORK DIVISION
IS-C

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SOURCE: [REDACTED] (Protect by
T symbol)

RELIABILITY: Who has furnished reliable
information in the past.

DATE OF ACTIVITY: 12/6/55

DATE RECEIVED: 12/13/55

RECEIVED BY: SA [REDACTED]

b6
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LOCATION: [REDACTED]

1 - [REDACTED] (P&C)(7-4)
1 - 100-4931 (CP, USA)(12-14)
1 - 100-7767 [REDACTED](20-10)
1 - 100-120276 [REDACTED](20-10)
1 - 100-75418 (SAM COHEN)(20-10)
1 - 100-18676 (CLAUDIA JONES)(12-16)
1 - 97-169 ("DAILY WORKER")(7-2)
1 - 100-113164 [REDACTED](20-10)
1 - 100-80635 (CP, USA JEWISH ACTIVITIES)(12-14)
1 - 100- (WALLY or VALY (LNU); description: white;
male; Jewish; 30 yrs..age; dark hair, greying;
dark complexion; round face; height 5'9")(20-10)
1 - 100-83432 [REDACTED] description: white; male; 28 yrs.
age; 5'9½"; dark hair, cut short; resides
[REDACTED] . Bronx. NY: owns [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] (20-10)
1 - 100-95583 (CP, USA LINE)(12-14)
1 - 100- (FNU) [REDACTED] (ph.); Queens County school teacher,
allegedly dismissed as NYC school teacher for
subversive activity and then reinstated.)(7-6)

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APH:mc
(14)
mc

100-95583-227

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
12-19 JAN 1 1956	

MEMO
NY 100-26603-C40

The information contained in this report should not be disseminated outside of the Bureau unless it is paraphrased.

The informant reported on a meeting of the CP Club of the North-West Section, Bronx County, held on 12/6/55, at the apartment of [] and [] Bronx, NY.

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C O P Y

Report

Communist Party, U. S.A.
Activities.

Dec. 9, 1955
New York.

A meeting of the Communist Party Club of the North-West Section, Bronx, N.Y. was held on December 6th, 1955 at 80 Strong St., Bronx, N.Y. at the apartment of Dave and [redacted]

At this meeting were present: [redacted] and [redacted] [redacted] Sam Cohen, [redacted] and [redacted] is about 28 years old, about 5 9½ in. - dark hair cut short. White. Drives a car - number of plates: [redacted]

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There was also a "guest speaker" by the name of [redacted] (or [redacted] who hinted that he is a member of the Bnai Brith lodge in Riverdale for the last 6 years. (The section in N.Y. between 230 St. to 242 St. West of Broadway) He is also a member of the Bronx County Committee of the Bnai Brith and a member of the Defamation League of his lodge. He is about 30 years old. He has dark hair with a sprinkle of gray. Dark complexion. Round face. About 5:9.

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[redacted] the meeting.

She told the meeting that on Dec. 7th, there is going to be a farewell party for Claudia Jones at the Theresa Hotel (in Harlem) and asked the members to attend this party. She said that "our section (C.P.) is anxious to have a good representation at this party for our leader Claudia who is being deported by Brownell and is leaving for England shortly after the party."

She also said that the party is starting the Daily Worker and the Sunday Worker sub drive and she asked the members to start lining up new subs and that she will have a list of renewals to go after at the next meeting of the

att #15 100-95583-227

club which will take place on Dec. 20th, 1955 at []'s apartment (if possible) at []. If this place will not be avaliable the meeting will take place at []'s apartment.

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[] made a proposal and the meeting OK'd it that [] the club organizer, should contact ever club member ("some 15") and see to it that they attend the meetings of the Club and participate in the Club activities.

[] introduced "Comrade [] who is an expert on party work in the right wing mass organizations. Comrade [] spoke on this subject at meetings of party clubs in different sections in the Bronx. He also spoke at a meeting of our section Committee. We all belive that comrade []'s talks are of great value to us." [] said that he wouldn't consider himself an expert on right-wing-mass-organizations work, but "I know quite a bit about the work in the Bnai Brith and I am glad to share it with the comrades."

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He underlined in his speech that "many comrades for one reason or another are afraid to get engaged in the work of right-wing organizations. I like to state here that there is nothing to be afraid of. I could tell you from my expierence in the Bnai Brith: the work is interesting, easy, doesn't cost to much - it cost me about \$25 a year to be a member of The Bnai Brith - you mix with the people of the organization; you make social connèctions; you even play cards with them once-in-a-while and you keep on talking to them on different subjects such as community affairs and once-in-a-while you raise a question or two on national and world issues. The easiest subject to talk about is world peace. Everyone is interested in peace."

"Of course you got to be carefull, tactfull, not to be detected otherwise the purpose for which you joined the organization will be lost."

He told the meeting that the Bnai Brith is the largest Jewish organization in the country: it has some 375,000 members; that the Bnai Brith is "politically speaking, left of the center. Of course it is a bourgua organization. In the smaller towns and cities the Bnai Brith has a good working class membership"

He spoke of the Defamation League which is a separate organization consisting of specialists only, like lawyers. Some other proffessionals whos buissnes is mostly connected with "expossing anti-Semitism and the many forms of national and racial discrimination. The D.L. is connected with the Bnai Brith and the Bnai Brith is furnishing most of the fund for the work of the D.L."

He also stated that the B.B. is not a zionist organization but is participating in the raising of funds for the U.J.A. and are participating in project for Israel from time to time. There is also a "slight connection" between the B.B. and the American Jewish Committee ("which is an organization of big capitalist") on the level of fund raising. "But this connection is only between the higher ups of both organizations. The membership at large is not involved in this and the members are not obliged to give money to a fund drive of the American Jewish Committee."

He stated that every issue the organization is acting upon comes from the top." But the County Committees and even the local lodges or chapters (the Women's organizations of the Bnai Brith) have a right and very often a good chance to create their own issues and force the top organization to act if there is enough pressure and many voices demanding such action. In this lies our main advantage. We don't want, as party (C.P.) members, to take over the organization. What we are interested in is to make the organization act on issues which are important to us. What we have to do in such cases is to learn how to combine issue. The Bnai Brith will act against McCarthyism if we could connect it with anti-Semitism and racial discrimination, etc." He gave an illustration of an issue the N.Y. State

Bnai Brith refused to act. It was the case of the dismissal of a school teacher in Queens ([]). He was accused by the school board of being subversive. "Actually he was a left-wing Democrat. I developed this issue in my lodge and eventually we got the attention on this issue of the Bronx County Committee. (B.B.) I worked within the County Committee on this until it was agreed to ask the State Committee to act on the case of the Queens teacher. Our comrades in other counties similarly pressed this issue until eventually the State B.B. decided to act and we won the case: the teacher has been re-instated. This is a clear indication how much our comrades could do by working in the Bnai Brith and I assume in other right-wing organizations." He underlined that "dozens of important issues could be raised from below, even international issues, and force the top to act favorable. If you use skill and tact you could accomplish a lot by just being a member of an organization without capturing the organization. I believe that I accomplished a lot in my right-wing organization by mixing with the members, by making them to like me and to respect my opinion. I do recommend every party to join a right wing organization. As Communist we must know that our place is where the people are and the majority of the people are in the right-wing organizations and trade unions. We are of no use to our cause if we are isolated from the people. If we think of our party (C.P.) in terms of a great peoples party which will some day rule the country and establish socialism than our place is only among the people and where the people are - in the right wing organizations."

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Every one present participated in the discussion on the above talk of []. There was full agreement with his remarks and conclusions and [] and [] expressed a desire to join a Bnai Brith lodge if there is one in this vicinity.

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J. Morris.

2/1/56

TELETYPE

NEW YORK (100-4931)

BUREAU.....URGENT
PHILADELPHIA

CP, USA, IS DASH C. NY SIX NINE FOUR DASH S CONTACTED
MAX WEISS TODAY, INFORMING LATTER THAT NY SIX NINE FOUR
DASH S CONTEMPLATES A TRIP TO CANADA IN THE NEAR FUTURE,
AND INQUIRING WHETHER CP, USA, DESIRES THAT INFORMANT
TRANSMIT INFORMATION TO CANADIAN CP. NY SIX NINE FOUR
DASH S TOLD WEISS THAT INASMUCH AS THE CANADIAN CP REPEATEDLY
HAS REQUESTED THAT LEADING CP, USA, FUNCTIONARIES IN TRADE
UNION WORK AND IN JEWISH ORGANIZATION WORK GO TO CANADA
FOR IMPORTANT POLICY CONFERENCES, INFORMANT DESIRED TO

15 - New York (100-4931)

- (1 - NY 100-102320) (CP, USA - ISA-50) (#7-5)
- (1 - NY 100-80641) (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION) (#12-14)
- (1 - NY 100-86624) (CP, USA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) (#12-14)
- (1 - NY 100-95583) (CP, USA - LINE) (#12-14)
- (1 - NY 100-9365) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (#19)
- (1 - NY 100-89816) (FRED FINE) (#19)
- (1 - NY 100-18672) (MAX WEISS) (#19)
- (1 - NY 100-8959) (CP, USA - STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY) (#12-14)
- (1 - NY 100-9984) (ALBERT BLUMBERG) (#7-5)
- (1 - NY 100-12072) (UNSUB - REORGANIZED IWO GROUPS) (#7-2)
- (1 - NY 100-80635) (CP, USA - JEWISH ACTIVITIES) (#7-2)
- (1 - NY 100-13644) (COMINFIL - UE) (#7-2)
- (1 - NY 100-81752) (COMPROS - PHILADELPHIA) (#7-5)
- (1 - NY 134-91) (P & C) (#6)

ACB:JML
NY 100-4931

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100-95583-228
SEARCHED
SERIAL
INDEXED
FILED
FEB 1 1956
FBI - PHILADELPHIA

PAGE TWO

KNOW HOW TO EXPLAIN TO CANADIAN CP WHY SUCH FUNCTIONARIES AS YET HAVE NOT GONE TO CANADA. WEISS STATED THAT AT THE MOMENT THERE ARE QUOTE NO RESPONSIBLE, AUTHORIZED, POLITICAL PERSONS UNQUOTE AVAILABLE TO CONFER WITH THE CANADIAN CP AND THAT EVEN IF THERE WERE THE TIME IS NOT OPPORTUNE FOR SUCH CONFERENCES SINCE IT WOULD BE BETTER FOR SUCH CONFERENCES TO BE HELD QUOTE AFTER WE HAVE HELD OUR FULL NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETING IN MARCH UNQUOTE PAREN WEISS DID NOT SPECIFY THE PLACE NOR THE DATE OF THE SAID MEETING CLOSED PAREN. AT SUCH TIME, WEISS SAID, THE CP, USA, FUNCTIONARIES WOULD BE IN A BETTER POSITION TO DISCUSS MATTERS OF POLICY WITH THE CANADIAN CP. WEISS ALSO STATED QUOTE I CAN'T GO DASH FINE CAN'T GO. MOST OF THEM PAREN THE CP, USA, FUNCTIONARIES CLOSED PAREN ARE RESTRICTED. THE RISK IS NOT WARRANTED. IT WOULD BE BETTER IF SOME RESPONSIBLE CANADIANS COME HERE UNQUOTE. NY SIX NINE FOUR DASH S TOLD WEISS HE WOULD EXPLAIN THE SITUATION TO THE CANADIAN CP.

PAGE THREE

WEISS THEN TOLD THE INFORMANT THAT THE CP, USA, DESIRED THAT NY SIX NINE FOUR DASH 5 DISCUSS WITH [REDACTED] CANADIAN CP FUNCTIONARY SUBSTITUTING FOR [REDACTED] IN THE LATTER'S ABSENCE, THE FOLLOWING, QUOTE ^{WHICH} IS MOST IMPORTANT TO US UNQUOTE THE INFORMANT IS TO QUESTION [REDACTED] QUOTE CONCERNING ALL MATTERS PERTAINING TO THEIR CHANGE FROM THE CP TO THE LPP, INCLUDING THE REASON FOR THE CHANGE, WHAT THE PARTY PROGRAM WAS AT THAT TIME, HOW THE CHANGE WAS MADE, WHAT THE LAW WAS, AND WHAT AGREEMENT, IF ANY, THEY HAD WITH THE GOVERNMENT AT THAT TIME UNQUOTE. THE ONLY OTHER PERTINENT REMARK BY WEISS WAS THAT THE CP, USA, IS VERY WORRIED ABOUT WILLIAM Z. FOSTER'S HAVING BEEN SERVED WITH A SUBPOENA DUCES TECUM, REQUIRING FOSTER TO APPEAR AT QUOTE THE PHILADELPHIA TRIAL UNQUOTE WITH RECORDS OF FOSTER'S TRANSACTIONS WITH DOCTOR ALBERT BLUMBERG.

b6
b7c

KELLY

~~TELETYPE~~

2/2/56

REGISTERED

NEW YORK (100-80640)

DIRECTOR, FBI

CP, USA, NEGRO QUESTION
IS-C

DAYLET.

On 2/2/56 [redacted] who has furnished certain reliable information concerning the CP in Kings County, advised [redacted] and PETER J. LEIGHTON of the following information:

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He stated that the Communist Party in Kings County is holding a meeting on the evening of 2/3/56, at which time plans will be worked out to conduct a mass telephone campaign to certain US House Representatives from Kings County requesting them to push forth legislation in favor of desegregation and civil rights. He advised that this telephone campaign is to be conducted over the weekend of February 4 and 5, 1956. [redacted] related that [redacted] Representative from the Bedford-Stuyvesant Section of Kings County, as well as another unidentified representative from the Williamsburg Section of Brooklyn, would be among those called by telephone.

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[redacted] advised further that the "Daily Worker" is currently short of funds and a new fund drive is scheduled to start on 2/17/56.

It will be noted that if any of the aforementioned information furnished by [redacted] is used in a report or disseminated outside of Bureau, it must be carefully paraphrased in order to protect the identity of this individual since he is in the process of being developed as a potential security informant.

3-BUREAU (RM)
②100-95583 (CP, USA, LEGISLATIVE) (12-11)
1-100-14931 (CP, USA) (12-11)
1-100-26603-C 13 (CP, USA, DISTRICT 2, KINGS COUNTY) (20-11)
1-100-79717 (CP, USA, POLITICAL ACTIVITY) (12-11)
1-100-80636 (CP, USA, LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITY) (12-11)
1-100-126001 [redacted]
1-97-169 [redacted] (7-2)

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WJ:jam (7-1)
100-80640
(12)

100-95583-229
SEARCHED [redacted]
SERIALIZED [redacted]
INDEXED [redacted]
FILED [redacted]
FEB 2 1956
FBI - NEW YORK
[redacted] [redacted]

4/2/6
SAC, NEW YORK

1/27/56

[REDACTED] SA (100-104143)

JEWISH PROGRESSIVE SCHOOLS
IS-C

Source: [REDACTED] (Protect by T symbol)
Reliability: Who has furnished reliable information
in the past.
Date of Activity: 12/17/55
Date Received: 12/29/55
Received by: SA [REDACTED]
Location: [REDACTED]

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The information contained in this report
should not be disseminated outside of the Bureau
unless it is paraphrased.

The informant reported on the "Hanukah
Affair" given by the Jewish Middle Shule in the
Winter Garden in the Bronx on 12/17/55.

The informant described the Jewish Progressive
Schools as the former school system of the JPPQ, IWO.
The IWO has been designated by the Attorney General of
the US pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

1 - [REDACTED] (PAC) (7-4)
1 - NY 100-26603-C40 (CP, Bronx City) (20-10)
1 - NY 100- [REDACTED] (20-10)
① - NY 100-95583 (CP, USA Line) (12-14)
1 - NY 100-64389 (I. GOLDBERG) (20-D)
1 - NY 100-80635 (CP, USA Jewish Activities) (12-14)
1 - NY 100-105437 [REDACTED] (12-15)
1 - NY 100-95078 [REDACTED] (12-15)
1 - NY 100-112863 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1 - NY 100-112744 [REDACTED] (20-10)

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APH:EEC
(10)

100-95583-230

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JAN 4 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[REDACTED]

Report

Dec. 27, 1955
New York

Bronx Jewish Progressive
Schools Activities

[redacted] member of the North-West Section Committee of the Bronx Communist Party told me that she was present at a "Hanukah" affair given by the Jewish Middle Shule (High School) in the Winter Garden in the Bronx on Dec. 17th, 1955.

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She said that she went there "as an observer for the party". (Communist party in the Bronx).

[redacted] said that "we (the CP in the Bronx) are now covering most of the meetings of the progressive mass organizations in the Bronx. We want to have a clear picture of their activities and the amount of people these organizations draw to their affairs. We want to know the approximate strength of the progressive forces in the Bronx and this, is, we believe, the best way of taking stock."

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[redacted] said that over 500 people came to this "Hanuka affair".

It was mostly "a cultural evening". The speaker of the evening was [redacted]. He underlined that "the struggle of the heroes of the Warsaw Ghetto and the struggle of the colonial people for their liberation could be compared to the struggle of the Maccabees and he underlined that the Jewish Progressive Schools in the United States are playing an important part in the fight for a free America and a world of peace".

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Att 1 to 100-95583-2302

[redacted] called upon the Jewish people to support and to help in the building of the Jewish progressive school movement"

[redacted] made an appeal for funds which brought "about \$600."

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The "cultural program" consisted of:
[redacted] - singing.
[redacted] - Dancing and a "Hanukahn ceremony"
performed by students of the Bronx Middle Shule
with the participation of the teachers [redacted]
and [redacted]

J. Morris

2/7/56

TELETYPE

URGENT

NEW YORK (100-80640)

BUREAU

CP, USA. NEGRO QUESTION. IS DASH C. DAYLET. [REDACTED]
WHO HAS FURNISHED CERTAIN RELIABLE INFORMATION CONCERNING THE
CP IN KINGS COUNTY IN THE PAST, ORALLY ADVISED SAS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AND PETER J. LEIGHTON ON FEBRUARY SIX LAST THAT HE
ATTENDED A CP MEETING IN BROOKLYN HELD FEBRUARY THIRD, NINETEEN
FIFTY SIX IN WHICH FIFTEEN PEOPLE WERE PRESENT INCLUDING

[REDACTED] SPORTS WRITER, DAILY WORKER, WHO
WAS GUEST SPEAKER. [REDACTED] BUFILE, ONE HUNDRED DASH THREE
SIX EIGHT SEVEN THREE SIX, STRESSED NECESSITY FOR FIGHTING
DISCRIMINATION AGAINST NEGRO, PARTICULARLY IN SPORTS. WARD
INDICATED THE GROUP SHOULD SEND PROTESTS TO THE NEW YORK
YANKIES BASEBALL CLUB FOR DISCRIMINATING AGAINST NEGRO
BASEBALL PLAYERS. [REDACTED] ADVISED THAT HE WAS TOLD PARTY

MEMBERS WOULD CANVASS NEGRO APARTMENT PROJECTS IN BROOKLYN

- 1 - NEW YORK (100-95583) (CP, USA LINE) (#12-14)
- 1 - NEW YORK (100-4931) (CP, USA) (#12-14)
- 1 - NEW YORK (100-26603-043) (CP, USA, DISTRICT 2, KINGS
COUNTY) (#20-11)
- 1 - NEW YORK (100-79717) (CP, USA, POLITICAL ACTIVITIES) (#12-14)
- 1 - NEW YORK (100-80636) (CP, USA, LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES) (#12-14)
- 1 - NEW YORK (100-97970) [REDACTED] (#12-14)
- 1 - NEW YORK (100-126001) [REDACTED] (#7-4)

JMB:PS (#7-4)
NY 100-80640

100-95583-231

[REDACTED]

PAGE TWO

OVER WEEKEND OF FEBRUARY FOURTH AND FIFTH, NINETEEN FIFTY SIX TO OBTAIN SIGNATURES FOR USE ON TELEGRAMS TO BE SENT TO REPRESENTATIVE [REDACTED] AND ANOTHER UNIDENTIFIED REPRESENTATIVE FROM WILLIAMSBURG TO URGE THEM TO PUSH LEGISLATION IN WASHINGTON FAVORING THE NEGRO. [REDACTED] ADVISED ALL MEMBERS IN ATTENDANCE WERE URGED TO CALL REPRESENTATIVE [REDACTED] AND SUPPORT THIS EFFORT. [REDACTED] RELATED A DELEGATION OF EIGHT MEMBERS WOULD PERSONALLY CALL ON REPRESENTATIVE [REDACTED] FRIDAY, FEBRUARY TENTH, NINETEEN FIFTY SIX, WHEN SHE ARRIVES FROM WASHINGTON, TO URGE HER PERSONALLY TO PUSH LEGISLATION FAVORING NEGROES. FULL DETAILS OF MEETING WILL BE APPROPRIATELY DISSEMINATED THROUGHOUT FILES OF NYO. [REDACTED] IDENTITY SHOULD BE PROTECTED IF INFORMATION DISSEMINATED OUTSIDE OF BUREAU.

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[REDACTED]

EXCERPT FROM SAC LT. NO. 56-3 DTD. 1/17/56

(O) THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE - SEPTEMBER 1955 - DECEMBER 1955 --
The captioned monograph has been prepared for the use of all
Special Agents assigned to security investigations. It should be
added to your field office library and afforded the usual security
precautions.

Ten copies are being furnished under separate cover to
the Albany, Baltimore, Boston, Buffalo, Chicago, Cincinnati,
Cleveland, Denver, Detroit, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, Newark, New
Haven, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, Seattle and
Washington Field Offices. Twenty copies are being furnished to the
New York Office and three copies to each of the other offices.

*Monograph rec'd 1/20/56
Kept in Library*

100-95563-232

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JAN 18 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

EW

SAC, NEW YORK (100-127175) (7-2)

2/7/56

SA [REDACTED]

CONTINUED TO BUREAU CIVIL RIGHTS DIVISION
10-0

Source

[REDACTED] (Protect by

Reliability

Symbol)

Who has furnished reliable
information in the past

Date of Activity

Written report dated 1/8/56

Date Received

1/8/56

Received by

SA [REDACTED]

Location

[REDACTED]

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The information contained in this report should not
be disseminated outside of the Bureau unless it is paraphrased.

The informant reported a conversation he had with
[REDACTED] with respect to the activities of the above
captioned organization and the Civil Rights Congress.

The informant advised that the Committee to
Defend CIVIL RIGHTS is made up of people who are
participating in activities in behalf of CIVIL RIGHTS
and is an outgrowth of the activities of the CRC in this
country.

1- [REDACTED] (100-127175) (7-2)
1- [REDACTED] (100-127175) (10)
1- [REDACTED] (100-127175) (7-6)
1- [REDACTED] (100-127175) (OP, USA Political Activities) (12-14)
1- [REDACTED] (100-127175) (Civil Rights Congress) (12-14)
1- [REDACTED] (100-127175) (OP, USA) (12-14)
1- [REDACTED] (100-127175) (OP, USA Underground) (29)
1- [REDACTED] (100-127175) (OP, USA Strategy in Industry) (12-14)
1- [REDACTED] (100-127175) (OP, USA Defense Activities) (12-14)
1- [REDACTED] (100-127175) (OP, USA Arms) (12-14)

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ATTACHED
(11)

100-95583-233

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 7 1956	
[REDACTED]	

C O N F I D E N T I A L

Report

Steve Nelson Defense
Committee Activities

Jan. 4, 1956
New York

I had a talk with [] on the activities of the Steve Nelson Defense Committee and general defense activities. [] told me that she is leaving (on January 3rd, 1956) by plane for Pittsburgh, Pa where she will confer with Steve Nelson on the future activities of the Steve Nelson Defense Committee.

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She told that she received word from the Pittsburgh Sedition Committee that this group is planning the publication of 2 books. One will be a pamphlet and the other a book. These publications will contain extracts of the briefs submitted by lawyer [] and the American Civil Liberties Union to the U.S. Supreme Court on the Steve Nelson State Sedition laws case.

The book, [] told me, will be distributed to labor, political and civic leaders. The pamphlet will be given a national mass distribution. [] said that she expects to come back to New York on January 6th, 1956.

Talking about the Civil Rights Congress [] told me will hold a national convention on January 6th, 1956 at which the Civil Rights Congress will be dissolved. She said that "about 6 people will take part in this convention. She will not participate in it."

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[] told me that she "was told" that a new defense organization will be set up and that "the Communist party will direct the work of the new defense organization."

On the question of "party forces": Will the party (Communist) have enough forces for the development of defense work on county and section scales, [] said that "We believe that it could be done. Many of our (Communist Party) leaders are back at their posts. Those of the party leaders who were advanced from the counties, etc. to higher posts will now be able to return back to their former positions and

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REPORT

release section and club leaders for work in the communities and for defense work. The work of the party, and **THIS** also includes defense, will go much better now since the return of our leaders from the prisons."

[redacted] told us that the present quarters of the Civil Rights Congress will be given up and that a new place will be rented "or assigned" for the work of the new defense organization.

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During the conversation it was decided to hold a meeting of the Steve Nelson Defense Committee on January 9th, 1935, at the present C.R.C. headquarters, 6 E. 17th St. N.Y.C.

J. Morris

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C40) DATE: 2/8/56

FROM: SA [REDACTED] (#20-10)

SUBJECT: BRONX COUNTY CP
IS - C

SOURCE: [REDACTED] (conceal identity)

RELIABILITY: Who has furnished reliable information in the past

DATE OF ACTIVITY: 1/20/56

DATE RECEIVED: 1/24/56

LOCATION: [REDACTED]

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Attached is a copy of a report setting forth the details of the rally for the 32nd Anniversary of the "Daily Worker" held at Carnegie Hall, 57th St. and 7th Avenue on Friday evening, 1/20/56.

- 1 - [REDACTED] (P & C) (20-10)
- 1 - NY 97-169 (DW & W) (7-2)
- 1 - NY 100-17923 (JOHN GATES) (19)
- 1 - NY 100-8057 (EUGENE DENNIS) (19)
- 1 - NY 100-24638 (ABNER BERRY) (7-2)
- 1 - NY 100-21259 [REDACTED] (12-16)
- 1 - NY 100-82900 [REDACTED] (20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-93796 (PEGGY DENNIS)
- 1 - NY 100-14859 [REDACTED] (7-2)
- 1 - NY 100-50806 (GEORGE B. CHARNEY (7-5)
- 1 - NY 100-18677 [REDACTED] (12-16)
- 1 - NY 100-68373 [REDACTED] (20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-126098 [REDACTED] (20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-78589 [REDACTED] (19)
- 1 - NY 100-27539 (CARL WINTER) (19)
- 1 - NY 100-25880 [REDACTED] (20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-51955 [REDACTED] (7-5)
- 1 - NY 100-17924 [REDACTED] (12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-1696 (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) (7-5)
- 1 - NY 100-92763 (PETTIS PERRY) (7-5)

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MFD: cxd
(42)

A-3

100-95583-234

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
FEB 9 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

NY 100-26603-C40

1 - NY 100-41932 [REDACTED] (7-5)
1 - NY 100-18676 (CLAUDIA JONES) (7-5)
1 - NY 100-48033 (IRVING POTASH) (7-5)
1 - NY 100-84994 (GUS HALL (7-6)
1 - NY 100-27452 [REDACTED] (7-5)
1 - NY 100-21421 [REDACTED] (7-5)
1 - NY 100-16868 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1 - NY 100-82284 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1 - NY 100-94360 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1 - NY 100-76253 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1 - NY 100-9595 (WILLIAM WEINSTONE) (7-5)
1 - NY 100-18056 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1 - NY 100-80640 (CPUSA NEGRO QUESTION) (12-14)
1 - NY 100-95583 (CPUSA LINE) (12-14)
1 - NY 100-86624 (CPUSA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) (12-14)
1 - NY 100-23825 (BEN DAVIS) (19)
1 - NY 100-80636 (CPUSA LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITY) (12-14)
1 - NY 100-89816 (FRED FINE) (7-5)
1 - NY 100-16785 (JAMES JACKSON) (7-5)
1 - NY 100-269 (HENRY WINSTON) (19)
1 - NY 100-24448 (LILLIAN GATES) (7-5)
1 - NY 100-26603-C40

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NY 100-26603-340

Date of report Jan. 21, 1956

T.C.P.

At a meeting of the Thirty-Second Anniversary of the Daily Worker, held at Carnegie Hall, 57th St. and 7th Ave. on Friday evening Jan. 20, 1956 the main speakers were John Gates, editor of the Daily Worker and Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States.

The chairman of this meeting was a Negro writer for the Daily Worker Abner Berry.

He was introduced by [redacted] at the start of the meeting a few minutes after eight o'clock.

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I arrived at Carnegie Hall about eight and sat in one of the boxes on the right hand side of the hall facing the stage.

In looking around at that time and during the course of the meeting I saw the following people, [redacted] and a woman presumably his wife next to him, [redacted] both on the stage.

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The following people also were seated on the stage, Eugene Dennis, his wife, Peggy. John Gates and his wife, Abner Berry, [redacted] George B. Charney, [redacted] Mrs. [redacted] Carl Winter, who just flew in from his home town, [redacted] of Ex. County Communist Party, the State Educational [redacted].

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[redacted] approached the microphone and announced that the house was sold out and in a few minutes those people who come late will not be admitted.

NY 100-26603-C40

The meeting opened with the singing of the Star Spangled Banner led by a man and wife team singing from the stage.

Then [] introduced the Chairman Abner Berry who welcomed all to this memorable occasion of the thirty-Second Anniversary of the Daily Worker, the working class paper which has undergone so much in all those years. .

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We are also gathered here tonight to pay honor to two of our working class leaders who have just recently finished a term in jail for their ideas, the first Smith Act defendants jailed in 1951 after a long and courageous fight.

Berry went on to name the many other Smith Act victim either now in jail or awaiting trial all over the U.S. Elizabeth Gurly Flynn, Pettis Perry, Marion Bachrach, Claudia Jones who after a losing fight was deported to England, Irving Potash, Gus Hall, [] and others. The more fortunate ones who so far have escaped jail because a Judge before whom they appeared released them on insufficient evidence and are here tonight, George Charney and []

And with this introduction he called on George Charney to say a few words.

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The following people were also at this rally, [] & [], [] and [] who acted as ushers collecting money during the collection later on in the evening.

Charney said he was happy to be here to celebrate this dual anniversary and what a happy occasion it was when two of our working class leaders will be with us again, leading us in the long fight ahead.

They were the first victims of the

NY 100-26603-C40

infamous Smith Act, as are we two here tonight, [redacted] but times have changed so much in the last five years that our case was revised by the higher court. Our comrades in the same case were not so fortunate, Gurley Flynn, Pettis Perry and the others, William Weinstone, [redacted], Claudia Jones who has since been deported, William Weinstein and others. But our struggle is not a losing one and only through the will of the people will we repeal these laws, the Smith Act, the Mc Carran Act, and others which try to suppress the leaders of the people, both Negro and White, in the labor movement and out, but they are waging a losing fight because we are united and stand behind the Bill of Rights and the Constitution.

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As for the return of Dennis and Gates, this will strengthen our forces in these struggles, and we are behind them one hundred per cent confident that with their experience we cannot lose with Negro and white unity, and the new labor movement, we will go forward to victory.

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[redacted] previously urged anyone who had subs to turn in to do so in the rear of the hall, and also at this early date in the sub drive we have reached the thirty per cent mark, the start of the drive was Jan. 1, 1956, and to date we are way ahead of other years, another sign of the changing times.

Abner Green again praised this overflow crowd and for their devotion and faithfulness to the working class paper and our leaders Dennis and Gates, the paper has survived a great number of attacks but it is the only paper that prints the truth, fights for Negro and White unity, has led the fight in the deep South against segregation, has spoken out against the Lynch mobs, has exposed

NY 100-26603-C40

numerous violent actions perpetrated against the Negro, has urged that the murders of Emmett Till Rev. Lee & others be brought to justice.

It is the only paper which champions the cause of labor, supports the recent labor merger of the C.I.O. and A.F.L. and for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Previous to these remarks Abner Green presented a husband and wife team, he played the guitar and she sang, who entertained us with a song.

While he was talking a little commotion occurred on the right of the stage and as I looked toward that direction I saw Eugene Dennis, John Gates and their wives enter on the stage.

As soon as the audience saw them they arose as if they one and applauded vigorously, this applause lasted for at least five minutes.

They were led to the center of the stage in the first row, and they sat down and received the applause smiling, a woman in the front row came up to the stage and gave a bouquet of flowers to Mrs. Peggy Dennis who nervously opened it.

They were greeted with handshakes and embraces by many people on the platform and both Dennis and Gates appeared flushed but calm.

Green continued with his remarks after the audience quieted down, and again welcomed both Dennis and Gates back, and said that they were missed greatly these past few years, and we never lost faith, we carried on the fight, in

NY 100-26603-C40

their absence to the best of our ability, and now that they are back we can continue to carry on with renewed vigor especially the fight for the repeal of the Smith Act, the Mc Carran Act, for the fight to preserve the Bill of Rights, for the fight for the rights of the Negro people, for the fight in the labor movement against the Monopolist, and all enimies of the working class.

Green after a few more comments introduced the next speaker as a former of the Daily Worker, one who was jailed under the Smith Act, after a long and losing fight, after the Supreme Court turned down their appeal for a new trial and one who is now back with us tonight to assume leadership of our paper the Daily Worker, John Gates.

At the mention of his name the crowd again arose as one and tendered him a rousing welcome. Gates stood motionless taken by emotion at this warm welcome and his wife beamed with happiness also.

When the applause died down John Gates read from a prepared report, first he thanked all those who were here tonight, second he thanked all who in any way corresponded with him while he was in prison, true there were many thousands of letters but he was never allowed to read them but somehow he knew about them.

He then thanked his wife who remained faithful to him throughout the many long years, (so it seemed) who visited him, gave him courage, and in any other way she tried to make him happy.

"He returns with a feeling of gratitude to all and wishes to thank again all who made this

NY 100-26603-C40

moment possible.

Times have changed since that day in July, 1951 when he was led away to serve five long years in jail, because of his ideas and political affiliations, for his fight to secure a better America for all, for his fight for Negro rights, for a stronger labor movement, for decent housing, for higher wages, for better schools, for his stand against discrimination, for his fight for the Bill of Rights, for his fight for the Constitution and for all the other good causes which the Daily Worker fought for.

He reviewed the long list of changes since he was jailed, the Bandung Conference, the Geneva Conference, the increasing response to our Paper the Daily Worker, the recent labor merger of the two great unions, the fight which has been waged for Negro rights, the Supreme Court ruling on Segregation, to mention only a few incidents brought about mainly through the efforts of the people.

This growing resistance is very noticable especially to one who has been away for awhile, one who has been denied the many privileges such as reading the Daily Worker and the other correspondence which was sent to him these past years, but as he said before he knew that these many struggles would continue because even though they jail leader after leader and then add more punishment after as in the case of Ben Davis who is still serving an added sentence, our fight for all these struggles will continue to go on, and the people will eventually see the right from wrong as thousands of others have seen.

Gates spoke of his desire to continue as editor of the Daily Worker, to continue his fight

NY 100-26603-C40

for the Bill of Rights, for the defense of the Constitution, for the repeal of the Smith and Mc Carran Act, for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley law, for the fight to get rid of the Cadillac Cabinet, for the spirit of Geneva, for the ouster of John Foster Dulles after his recent remarks about the "brink of war crisis, and for Peace and for the defense of the rights of the Negro here in the South.

There are many other struggles which we as Communist are pledged to fight for, and eventually if the will of the people want it we will have Socialism here in America.

Gates reaffirmed his loyalty to the Constitution of the U.S. to the principals of the Bill of Rights, and to fight to preserve these fundamental rights as an American.

Gates spoke against the Policy of the Eisenhower administration, the Cadillac Cabinet, as he called it, the foreign Policy, the recent Dulles statement, as the issues of the present day and then compared them with the policy of the Truman administration in 1951 when he went to jail, The Korean war was going on world tension was at its highest point then, the war in Indo-China, was at its beginning there was general unrest everywhere.

In 1956 we are not in any war abroad, because the will of the American people has changed the policy of the present Administration and forced them to accept peaceful terms, Geneva, for instance has been the turning point in this so-called cold war, but we must continue this struggle for Peace here in America and abroad if we are to keep the Geneva spirit alive.

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Gates spoke for over forty-five minutes and when he finished he received a great round of applause.

Abner Green then introduced [redacted] who held the crowd in a good laughing mood with his witty remarks.

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His opening remarks were that he was watching a group of people in the very last row of seats up in the top balcony and they reminded him of the time he was a young boy taking piano lessons, he used to come here to Carnegie hall and watch the great artist of those days, Paderuski, etc. and he used to say to himself that someday he would be on the stage addressing an audience, and lo and behold that day is here now.

He spoke of the many appropriations which are presented to Congress at this time, the Eastland Committee, the Mc Carthy Committee, the Jenner Committee etc. The Daily Worker is also looking for money, money which is better spent than all these committees put together, they need money for smear campaigns, for stool pigeons, informers, for destruction, but the Daily Worker needs money for Peace, Civil Rights, for the defense of the Constitution, for the Rights of the Negro people, for jobs, security housing, and the many other struggles which we are so familiar with.

[redacted] said that the Daily Worker needed money, not that he expects the millions that are shelled out every year for all these appropriations but only a little to continue on our fight. The Daily Worker fund drive is lagging behind to the tune of \$15,000, we would like very much to wipe out that debt

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tonight, after all we cannot expect John Gates to return to the leadership of the Daily Worker with a debt on his shoulders, so tonight we expect to liquidate that debt.

There will be nothing, which will please John Gates more than to start with a clean slate and with that he asked for contributions of \$100.00 or more.

The collection continued for about fifteen to twenty minutes and after each contribution which was brought up to the stage was announced by [redacted]

Later on [redacted] took over the job of collecting, and as [redacted] explained each person contributing any amount, large or small will receive a free copy of Joseph North's book on William Z. Forster who is going to celebrate his seventy-fifth birthday soon.

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Later just before the meeting was over it was announced by Abner Green that a little over five thousand in cash was contributed which was a very tidy sum toward liquidating our fund drive. The highest contribution was for two hundred and fifty dollars.

Immediately after the collection the chairman introduced a group of four people who would entertain us with a song.

The last speaker as introduced by Abner Green was one who needed no introduction, a former Smith Act victim a great leader of the working class, Eugene Dennis.

The audience arose spontaneously and

NY 100-26603-640

started clapping until it became a steady clap-clap and someone began singing, Dennis is our leader he shall not be moved and this continued for well over five minutes.

Dennis' face which is always very red, turned white as this was going on and then when it was over he spoke in a very shakey voice, very hoarse and not clear.

He also reviewed the Smith Act Case in 1951 and all the Smith Act victims since all over the U.S. and the courageous fight which they fought in upholding their rights.

He welcomed those people on the platform who returned from exile to give themselves up to fight for their rights, Fred Fine, James Jackson and also for those two political prisoners who we do not have with us tonight Henry Winston and Gil Green, and he welcomes Winston's wife, Edna, who is here tonight.

He extends his warmest greetings to E.G. Flynn, Claudia Jones, Pettis Perry, and the other second string Smith Act victims who are not here tonight to celebrate with us the thirty-second Anniversary of our working class paper, the Daily Worker.

Dennis praised the staff of the Worker for doing such a wonderful job these past few years.

Dennis also sent greetings to Ben Davis, who cannot be here tonight because of the Smith Act frameup, which continue to hound him even after he served his sentence.

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Dennis reaffirmed his loyalty as an American, to the Bill of Rights, to the Constitution and pledged to fight that they are preserved.

Dennis also pledged to continue in the struggle to free the remaining Smith Act victims and for the repeal of this and other unAmerican Acts which tend to deprive the people of their democratic rights.

He pledges to fight as a Communist for his ideals and is proud to be a Communist fighting alongside the workers for a common cause.

He shall continue to fight for Civil Rights, Negro rights, etc. and to uphold the Constitution and Bill of Rights.

He shall continue to fight for the principals of Roosevelt which were very timely during his administration, and which would help our Country today.

Dennis also thanked those who gave him courage and support during his years of confinement, and promises to fight for the principals of Socialism, which is growing stronger all over the world, and one day here in our own land.

Concerning the Daily Worker, it is the only paper in the U.S. which has celebrated thirty-Two years without interruption, no other paper all over the world, has such an accomplishment taken place and according to late reports it is growing stronger every day.

"The many events which have taken place

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since 1951, when he and Gates went to jail, have changed many things, the people are rising up against the Monopolist, the Du-Ponts, General Motors, Ford etc, are only a few of the controlling interest in America seeking to suppress the American people.

The recent strikes, Westinghouse, where a worker was killed on the picket line show the reaction against the people by these giant corporations.

The mass attacks against the Negro people, the recent killing of the Till boy and others also show how the reactionary forces try to keep down the people fighting for their freedom.

Toward these ends, Dennis promises to fight alongside his comrades as a loyal American Communist to make it a better world for all until we reach our goal of Socialism, by the will of the people.

Again he received a thunderous round of applause and Abner Green announced that a short entertainment would follow before the close of the meeting.

I left the hall at eleven o'clock following Dennis' speech."

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-)

2/8/56

SAC, NEW YORK (100-95583) (12-14)

CP LINE

Identity of Informant

NY 1317-S* who had access to the National Headquarters of the CP, 269 Seventh Ave., NYC.

Reliability of Informant

who has furnished reliable information in the past.

Date Contacted

12/22/55

Informant made available a six page unsigned, typed document which is addressed to "Dear Comrades". This document discusses an article of "E" who the NY division believes possibly identical with MAX WEISS, who in late 1955, was the secretary of the CP USA.

Photostats of the document as made available by informant are being attached to all copies of this communication with the exception of the original NY copy which has a photograph attached.

Negatives may be located in NY file 100-4931-1A611.

2-Bureau (100-) (RM)
1-New York 100-18672 (MAX WEISS) (7-5)
1-New York (100-95583) (12-14)

DR:mrg
(4)

100-95583-235

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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FEB 9 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

2
Dear Comrades:

The main article of E had some very valid points which the critical statement overlooks -- its insistence on working class as the basis of party work, its criticism of top united front work, its stress on the importance of the party. I don't think it put these questions in the best possible way and not without some in-exact formulations which leave themselves open to attack.

I think there is much one-sidedness of statements which occurs often in polemics -- a tendency to counterpose -- which should be avoided. It is present in regard to a number of matters raised. They should be corrected, recognizing what is correct and pointing out what is wrong and one-sided. In general when criticism is made by proletarians with a good record of struggle one must extract from criticism what is correct and deal with what is wrong according to the substance of the error and the situation. Stalin said this in regard to the way to view criticism particularly from proletarians. Otherwise, if some careless or incomplete or unthought-out formulations are seized upon and battered around then there can be little criticism from below. Of course functionaries making criticism must try to do their best and apply theoretical knowledge but this is not always possible right away! It takes time to learn and do effective criticizing.

I think that in regard to socialism, there was too much of a tendency in the article to make that the central thing. Here there was a sectarian attitude. The author was evidently searching for an answer to our weakness and isolation but he found it in the wrong place. It does not consist in more agitating for socialism, though this is absolutely necessary. It is true that we must bring socialist consciousness to the working class, but this will not come only from agitation (it is not possible without agitation) but chiefly from the class struggle. It is struggle, struggle today against reaction, for the needs of the people, for peace, democracy, the rights of the Negro people, united front struggle that will help

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the workers to advance in consciousness. Lenin wrote in his lecture on the 1905 revolution that the "real education of the masses can never be separated from the independent, the political and particularly the revolutionary struggle of the masses themselves. Only the struggle educates the exploited class. Only the struggle discloses to it the magnitude of its power, widens its horizon, enhances its abilities, forges its will..." (Volume XIX)

Of course that does not mean that it happens without consciousness but consciousness without direct experience of the masses is barren if we are talking of the great millions, the broad masses of the people.

This was not sufficiently grasped in the article. It means that the main stress in our work (while increasing the agitation in every way possible and in fact in connection with it) is on the unfolding of the struggle for the needs of the people. Leadership of struggles -- that is our main weakness today.

But about the need to lay main stress in our work on the working class, which means the unions, the working class neighborhoods, appealing to and working among the working class -- there is no doubt about its correctness. That was brought out in the Bronx campaign, where the leadership found that only when they went into Italian and Jewish working class areas could they get the signatures necessary for putting Flynn on the ballot. I think the article should have pointed out that in stressing the working class we should not neglect the other strata. We must not pit one against the other. It means work around the shops and unions and there is too little of that. Who can deny that? We still do not have our main base among the working class. And this is due not only to objective conditions but in the main to underestimation of the basic mass of the workers. I am surprised that the "remarks" does not admit that.

Also, in regard to the Party: I think that the draft program does not give sufficient stress to the party! This is very apparent. There are capitulatory tendencies in regard to the party and the left organizations. Can anyone doubt

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that? Just consider the trade union situation: the resignation of Ben Gold -- what was that but a tendency of left trade unions to give way to the reactionary blows?

Only if the party is built up, only if the party works on an independent line in the unions, left or right, only if the Leninist methods of organizations are followed, can the best results be achieved in mass work and can opportunist tendencies -- left and right -- be checked.

The point about united front work from below made in the article is I think correct. In the present period the united front from below is the main way of working. The top is too much under the pressure of reaction at the present time. United front from below is however a complex thing. It means working inside the right-led organizations, pushing them along a policy of action. It means also at the same time independent work of the left organizations, meetings, press, literature, proposals for united action to the right led organizations -- thereby pushing the right-led bodies into action, pressuring its leaders, and at the same time building up prestige for the left. The activity of the left is not something separate and apart from the tasks in the right-led bodies. Only if the left organizations and individuals have their eyes on the masses in the right-led organizations in the neighborhoods, can they influence them. That is the task of the left. Without their pressure as individuals within these right organizations and as independent bodies outside (ALP, Negro Labor Council, tenants bodies, community bodies, etc.) will a mass movement and united front action be developed. To wait on the leaders of the right organizations to act, or to just adopt a policy of supporting what is good and criticizing what is bad, is not enough. The party and the left must be pacemakers, vanguard leaders using appropriate tactics in doing so. Sometimes however the interpretation of "appropriate tactics" phrase means just trailing and that is absolutely wrong and a big fault today, expressive of the growing danger in the party.

Now about the statement called "remarks on the errors." (This refers to a

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resolution on the Harlem situation submitted by the State). The author does not in my opinion try to extract whatever good there is in the article. While it corrects the point on socialism, it commits some errors of its own. I am not able to judge the merits of the polemic against the person mentioned as Hathaway. I am not able to judge whether the latter's statements are errors of formulation or policy. It is likely that he was aiming at some correct things and did not quite hit the target. It is possible that the formulations are sectarian, as is the practice.

I don't know and can't judge. Neither can I judge remarks about other people. But about point 2 and 3 I would like to say something. I refer to page 4. Regarding the statement that the "working class must see that the struggle for Negro rights in all spheres of life is a class struggle." That is not quite accurate. But it is in substance correct.

What the author should have said is that the struggle for Negro rights is part of the overall class struggle in society. Lenin said that. He said it is part of the fight for ~~social~~ socialism. That is ABC Marxism. The "remarks", however, while correctly pointing out that the Negro question is a national question, leaves it at that. Not to say anything about class is wrong. There is no contradiction between the fact that the national question is part of the class struggle and the need for alliances of different classes. To attack what is substantially correct is wrong.

The fact that the national question is part of the class struggle in society determines the respective roles of the various classes. Without the class struggle as a guide, how can we know the role of the bourgeoisie, of the petty-bourgeoisie, of the farmers and the proletariat. Without the knowledge of the relationship of forces, how can we judge the tactics, the problems, how can we know when we can advance quickly, what pitfalls to avoid, etc. Lenin taught that only if we are guided by a class concept can we judge matters correctly because in the last analysis it is classes and the class struggle which determines the

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political and other manifestations of our daily life. This is the basic fact to which all else is subsidiary, supplemental, etc.

Here is what Liu Shao Chi says on this matter, in his pamphlet "Internationalism and Nationalism," pages 40-41.

"There is not the slightest doubt that to regard the national question as separate from the class question or to regard the national struggle as separate from the class struggle is absolutely wrong and harmful and constitutes a form of deception adopted from the landlord and bourgeois reactionaries. Inasmuch as reactionary bourgeois nationalism and modern imperialist aggression are policies brought about by the development of the capitalist system of exploitation, which has its final outcome in the fanatical attempts of American imperialism to achieve world domination...these policies point out with unprecedented clarity that to uproot imperialist aggression, the rule of the monopolists in capitalist suzerain countries must be overthrown."

These ideas are quite clear. Basically they apply to the United States. To fight for Negro liberation/^{one} must fight against monopoly capitalism. Now, as this applies to forces within the liberation movement:

Liu Shao Chi writes (page 7): "the experience of the revolution in other countries as well as China fully confirms the correctness of the scientific Marxist-Leninist conclusion that the national question is closely linked with the class question and the national struggle with the class struggle."

Liu Shao Chi goes on to say that it is only on a class basis that one can understand why traitors appear in the oppressed nation, and also such a class analysis reveals "under what conditions and under the leadership of which class national liberation can be achieved."

He continues: "An historical analysis of the class relations also reveals that although such outstanding national revolutionists as Sun Yat Sen sprang from China's petty bourgeoisie or national bourgeoisie, yet this bourgeoisie generally speaking views the national question solely in the light of its own narrow class interests and changes its position solely in accordance with its own class interests. In the same way only the class interests of the proletariat are really in full accord with the fundamental interests of the people of a given country with the common interest of all nations the world over and with the

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terests of all mankind."

Quite clear I think. For the "remarks" to leap on what is potentially a correct idea indicates a basically wrong viewpoint which affects I think our work in very definite ways. It is bound to lead to trailing the bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie and not to lay sufficient stress on winning the workers, on pushing forward the working class and on a line of policy which is independent in character, though carried out in the organization of the masses. It leads, too, to overlooking the notorious fact signalized by the party many times that a strata of Negro leaders are working with the imperialists and they should be criticized and struggled against. The way to criticize and how to struggle is important, but the fact is there is, in my opinion, a tendency to shy away from criticism and not to struggle: precisely because of these unclarities of a basic character and also because of tendencies to trail in periods of reaction.

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7.00-95583235-411

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C40) (#20-10) DATE: 2/16/56

FROM: [REDACTED], SA (#7-4)

SUBJECT: CP, USA
BRONX COUNTY
IS-C

SOURCE: [REDACTED] (Protect by
T Symbol)
RELIABILITY: Who has furnished reliable
information in the past.
DATE OF ACTIVITY: 1/3/56
DATE RECEIVED: 1/9/56
RECEIVED BY: SA [REDACTED]
LOCATION: [REDACTED]

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The information contained in this report should not be disseminated outside of the Bureau unless it is paraphrased.

The informant reported on a meeting of the CP Club of the North West Section of the Bronx County CP held on 1/3/56 at 2436 Webb Ave., Bronx, NY, in the apartment of [REDACTED]

- 1 - [REDACTED] (P & C) (#7-4)
- 1 - NY 100-113164 [REDACTED] (#20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-113156 [REDACTED] (#20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-83432 [REDACTED] (#20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-125232 [REDACTED] LNU (W; F; resides between University Ave. and Davidson Ave. South of Tremont Ave., Bronx; height 5'2"; brown hair; wears glasses; wife of [REDACTED] LNU) (#20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-121938 [REDACTED] LNU (#20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-120276 [REDACTED] (#20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-75418 [REDACTED] (#20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-121626 [REDACTED] LNU (W; F; brown hair, mixed with grey; 5'3"; 60 yrs. old; resides Strong St., Bronx, across the street from 80 Strong St.) (#20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-7767 [REDACTED] (#20-10)
- 1 - NY 97-169 (DAILY WORKER) (#7-2)
- 1 - NY 100-18056 [REDACTED] (#20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-118525 (BRONX COMMITTEE FOR FREEDOM OF POLITICAL PRISONERS) (#7-2)
- 1 - NY 100-74560 (CP, USA Funds) (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-86624 (CP, USA International Relations) (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-95583 (CP, USA Line) (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-4931 (CP, USA) (#12-14)

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COPY

Report

Communist Party U. S. A.

Jan. 5, 1956
New York.

Activities

A meeting of a Communist Party Club of the Bronx, N.Y. North-West Section of the Communist Party was held on January 3rd, 1956 at [redacted], Bronx, N.Y. at [redacted]'s apartment.

Present at this meeting were: [redacted] and his wife [redacted] (wife of [redacted] Resides in the Section of the Bronx between University Ave. and Davidson Ave. South of Tremont Ave. [redacted] is about 5:2, pale complexion, light brown hair; wears glasses.) [redacted] Sam Cohen and Rose. (Rose has brown hair mixed with gray; about 5:3; about 60 years old. She resides on Strong St. Bronx, N.Y. facing 80 Strong, the residence of [redacted] and [redacted] [redacted] She is "leaving shortly for a 3-month or so visit of her children in Los Angeles, California")

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[redacted], the [redacted] was the [redacted] of the meeting.

The Club took up the question of the circulation drive of The Worker and the Daily Worker. [redacted] told the meeting that although the circulation drive of The Worker and the Daily Worker is now going on everyday in the year "we are at present conducting a concentration campaign for renewals and new subs for the Worker and Daily." She said that the Bronx C.P. will have a Square Dance on January 13th, 1956 at the Hungarian House at 2141 Southern B'lyd; that the admission is free and that the objective of the Bronx Press goal is to achieve 30% of the goal in the circulation campaign.

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She asked that every club member should turn in his or her renewal even if the subscription runs another 2-3 months because "the Daily needs the subs and the money badly." She also gave out cards of subscribers for renewals of subs which the members are to visit before January 13th.

[redacted] also announced the meeting of the 32nd anniversary of the Daily Worker which will take place at Rockland Palace on Jan. 27th, 1956 and asked the members to attend same.

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[redacted] also announced the meeting "for [redacted]" which is

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being called by the Bronx Committee for Freedom of Political Prisoners and will be held on Jan. 9th, 1956, at the Community Center on Allerton Ave., Bronx, N.Y. She asked the members to attend this meeting "which is a protest against the government's persecution of [redacted]." b6 b7C

She also spoke about the party's fund drive. She said that the North-west Section of the C.P. selected this club "for experimental work on the fund drive." She explained that this club will have to raise about \$1,400 for the fund drive. It was suggested that this club should raise this money during a period of weeks by members bringing in weekly payments and when the fund drive will start all the money will be in and it wouldn't be too hard on the members: "It will be easier to pay the weekly instalments than to bring in a lump sum of a couple of hundred dollars."

Everyone expressed a desire to participate in the discussion on this point. Because of shortage of time, it was decided to carry over the discussion on the fund drive to the next meeting of the Club which will take place on Jan. 18th, 1956 at [redacted] at the apart. of [redacted] who agreed, at the suggestion of [redacted] to have the meeting in his apartment explaining that his wife is out of town otherwise she would object of having a meeting in her house. b6 b7C

The meeting ended with a discussion on the "Israel-Arab Crisis" which was led by [redacted].

The main points which [redacted] underlined in this discussion was that the Soviet Union was looking for a way to step in into the Middle East. The trade agreement between Czechoslovakia and Egypt, which also included the point of selling arms to Egypt, was the way through which the Soviet Union stepped into the Middle. The Soviet Union doesn't care how Israel feels about the matter: Israel is constantly following an anti-Soviet policy - a policy adopted by all right-wing Socialists. The Israeli government is violently anti-Soviet. The government of Egypt is following the policy of neutrality - a policy adopted at the Bandung Conference and this policy of neutrality is also being followed by India. The Soviet Union is at present engaged in lining up new friends or neutrals which is also in favor to the Soviet Union - "a neutral power, the Soviet Union reasons, is better than an enemy power."

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Al also underlined that Communists, Jews or Gentiles can not afford to become emotional when it concerns questions of National or international policies. "If the Soviet Union find it necessary to enter the Middle East political scene, it make no difference how she does it as long as the objective is reached. A Communist can not question the policies of the Soviet Union. Isn't it so? So there is no use to cry over the fact that Chechoslovakia is selling arms to Egypt. To Communists the important point is that the Soviet Union wanted to be in the Middle East and she is there with her technicians, salesmen, diplomats, etc. Israel? Well, let the Zionists and the Socialists worry."

A discussion developed on the above points. Some brought out the point that the presence of the Soviet Union in the Middle East is actually of benefit to Israel because it will mean peace in this area "because the Soviet Union is following a policy of peace." Others brought out the point that the "presence of the Soviet Union in the Middle East will serve to a Four-Power peace negotiation in the Middle East which will bring peace to Israel and to the Arab countries." and everyone agreed that "the policies of the Soviet Union can not be questioned because they can not be wrong."

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[] was "a little doubtfull" on the question of Chechoslovakia selling arms to Egypt. "Couldn't the Soviet Union find a different way of entering the Middle East. I don't know, but somehow I feel that it could have been done differently."

J. Morris.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-)

2/4/56

SAC, NEW YORK (100-95583)

CP LINE
IS-G

Identity of Informant:

[redacted] (who had access to the National and NY State Headquarters of the CP, 268 7th Avenue, NYC).

b7D

Reliability of Informant:

Who has furnished reliable information in the past

Date Contacted

1/26/56

Informant made available a nine page typed document entitled, "The Role Of The Physician." A review of this document indicates it is a re-estimate of the role of the professionals in the Progressive Movement today.

It is noted the name [redacted], appears as a handwritten notation at the top of this document, and the word "Bklyn" also appears on this document. It is probably a reference to [redacted] who resides in Brooklyn, and indicates that he is connected in some manner with the preparation or writing of the document. It is noted this is the conclusion of a Special Agent and should not be incorporated into report form without other supporting data.

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The photographs of the original as made available by informant are herewith being forwarded as an attachment to the Bureau. Negatives of this information may be located in NY file 100-4931-1A614.

- 2 - Bureau (100-) (RM) (Attachment I)
- 1 - New York 100-66028 [redacted] (#20-11)
- 1 - NY 100-95583

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DR:kmi
(4)

DR

jc
100-95583-257

FBI

Date: 3/6/56

Transmit the following message via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

From SAC, NEW YORK (100-4931) (ELEVEN TEN)

To: DIRECTOR, FBI

CP, USA DASH IS DASH C, DAYLET. CG FIVE EIGHT TWO FOUR DASH
S ADVISED TODAY THAT AT CP NATIONAL BOARD MEETING HELD ON
MARCH FIVE LAST IN BOARD ROOM OF NEW CP NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
AT JEFFERSON SCHOOL, THE FOLLOWING CP FUNCTIONARIES WERE
PRESENT: WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, EUGENE DENNIS, JOHN GATES, BEN DAVIS

- 2 - Chicago
 - (1 - 134-46) (P&C) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-19841) (MAX WEISS) (INFO) (RM)
- 1 - Detroit (100-) (CARL WINTER) (INFO) (RM)
- 1 - New Haven (100-14795) () (INFO) (RM)
- 1 - Newark (100-2974) () (INFO) (RM)
- 1 - New York (CP, USA-Line) (100-95583) (#12-15)
- 1 - New York (100-81752) (CP, USA COMPROS) (#7-5)
- 1 - New York (100-86624-sub A) (CP, USA, International Relations-Daylet) (#12-14)
- 1 - New York (100-9365) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (#19)
- 1 - New York (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (#19)
- 1 - New York (100-19723) (JOHN GATES) (#7-5)
- 1 - New York (100-23825) (BENJAMIN DAVIS) (#19)
- 1 - New York (100-27539) (CARL WINTER) (#19)
- 1 - New York (100-66211) () (#7-5)
- 1 - New York (100-28609) () (#19)
- 1 - New York (100-89816) (FRED FINE) (#19)
- 1 - New York (100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON) (#19)
- 1 - New York (100-50806) (GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY) (#7-5)
- 1 - New York (100-23290) () (#12-14)
- 1 - New York (100-9573) (NEMMY SPARKS) (#19)
- 1 - New York (100-54899) (LEON WOPSY) (#12-14)
- 1 - New York (100-18672) (MAX WEISS) (#19)
- 1 - New York (100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (#19)
- 1 - New York (100-74560) (CP, USA Funds) (#19)
- 1 - New York (97-169) (Publishers New Press) (7-2)
- 1 - (66-6989) (P&C)

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ACB:jls (#6)

NY 100-4931

1 - T. J. MC ANDREWS

1 - ()

Approved _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

100-95583-238

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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MAR 6 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

FBI

Date:

Transmit the following message via _____

- 2 -
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

From SAC,

To:

CARL WINTER, [REDACTED] FRED FINE, JAMES JACKSON, GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY, [REDACTED], JACK STACHEL, NEMMY SPARKS, LEON WOFSY AND MAX WEISS. CONFERENCE CONTINUED FOR SEVEN HOURS, SUBJECT THEREOF BEING THE RECENT RUSSIAN CONGRESS. MAX WEISS DELIVERED MAIN REPORT ON RUSSIAN CONGRESS. WITH THE EXCEPTION OF [REDACTED] AND NEMMY SPARKS, WHO HAVE NOT SPOKEN AS YET, BUT WHO EXPECT TO SPEAK TODAY, THE FOREGOING FUNCTIONARIES DELIVERED SPEECHES CONCERNING ALL PHASES OF THE AFORESAID RUSSIAN CONGRESS INCLUDING THE EFFECT OF THE "NEW SOVIET LINE", ON THE CP, USA FORCE AND VIOLENCE OR PEACEFUL TRANSITION, STALIN'S ROLE IN HISTORY, POSSIBLE ECONOMIC CRISES, THE INVOLVED STATE OF WORLD AFFAIRS, SOCIAL SYSTEMS, FOREIGN POLICY, THE NECESSITY OF PROVING THAT THE CP, USA HAS FOLLOWED CONSISTENTLY THE "CORRECT LINE", THE UNITED FRONT, THE CP, USA FINANCIAL DRIVE AND THE DAILY WORKER. NO CONCLUSIONS WERE REACHED REGARDING ANY OF THESE MATTERS. THE CP FUNCTIONARIES AGREED "GENERALLY" WITH THE "NEW SOVIET LINE", AND ALSO AGREED THAT THERE WILL HAVE TO BE SOME REVISION IN THE CURRENT CP, USA PROGRAM. INFORMANT BELIEVES INSTANT CONFERENCE WILL TERMINATE TONIGHT (MARCH SIX). MEETING OF EASTERN DISTRICT ORGANIZERS INCLUDING THOSE FROM CLEVELAND AND

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Approved _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FBI

Date:

Transmit the following message via _____

- 3 -

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

From SAC,

To:

MICHIGAN IS SCHEDULED FOR WEDNESDAY MORNING, MARCH SEVEN,
NINETEEN FIFTY SIX. THESE ORGANIZERS WILL BE BRIEFED
REGARDING AGENDA ON INSTANT NATIONAL BOARD CONFERENCE.
BUREAU AND CHICAGO WILL BE ADVISED ON ^{FURTHER} HIGH LIGHTS ON
CP NATIONAL BOARD MEETING. KELLY

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C40)

FROM: [REDACTED] SA

SUBJECT: CP, USA DISTRICT #2, BRONX COUNTY
IS-C

DATE: 3/2/56

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Source: [REDACTED] (Protect by T symbol)
Reliability: Who has furnished reliable information
in the past.
Date of Activity: 1/18/56
Date Received: 1/26/56
Received by: SA [REDACTED]
Location: [REDACTED]

The information contained in this report should not be disseminated outside of the Bureau unless it is paraphrased.

The informant reported on a meeting of the CP Club of the North West Section of the Bronx County CP held on 1/18/56 at 3175 Grand Concourse, Bronx, NY.

- 1 - [REDACTED] (P&C) (7-4)
- 1 - NY 100-120276 [REDACTED] (20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-75418 (SAM COHEN) (20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-82900 [REDACTED] (20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-121938 [REDACTED] LNU (20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-125232 [REDACTED] LNU (20-10)
- 1 - NY 97-169 ("Daily Worker") (7-2)
- 1 - NY 100-4931 (CP, USA) (12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-79717 (CP, USA Political Activities) (12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-8522 (COMINFIL AEP) (7-2)
- 1 - NY 100-74560 (CP, USA Funds) (12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-95583 (CP, USA Line) (12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-8057 (GENE DENNIS) (7-5)
- 1 - NY 100-17923 (JOHNNY GATES) (7-5)

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APH:EEC
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3/5/77

100-95583-239

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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[REDACTED]

Report

Communist Party, USA
Activities

Jan. 24, 1956
New York

A meeting of the Communist Party Club of the North-West Section of the Bronx, NY was held on January 18th, 1956 at the apart. of [] at [].

The following members were present at this meeting: [] Sam Cohen, [] Gene (organizer of the North-West Section CP) and [] and [] ([] and [] husband and wife. I believe that [] is engaged in the distribution of motion pictures. I got this impression from a conversation between [] and Gene.)

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[] made a report on the Worker-Daily Worker sub drive. She reported that the County Communist Party of the Bronx came to the square dance which was held on January 13th, 1956 with 28% of its quota of the Worker subs and 25% of the Daily Worker. The North-West section reached 65% of its quota and that this club is now short only 1 sub of the Worker to have one hundred per cent of its quota. This club's quota was: 15 the Worker subs and 3 subs of the Daily Worker.

Gene lead a discussion on the Communists and the 1956 election campaign. He underlined that the most important task of the Communists in the 1956 election campaign "is to seek the defeat of the Republican Party and Eisenhower". He said that "this doesn't doesn't mean that we (Communists) are sold on the Democrats, but I believe that if we work hard enough we could influence many Democrat party organizations in the country to adopt a more ore less progressive platform on many issues, especialY on the question of peace. We could also influence Them to put out some progressive candidates. This would be the very minimum but we would be satisfied as far as the 1956 election campaign goes". He stated that "if we like it or not but the fact is that the majority of the workers are in the

Democratic Party and as Communist we got to be where the workers are. Even if we can not influence any Democratic Party policies during the elections we will still gain a lot by being able to raise there progressive issues, force discussions on these issues and in this way carry our propaganda to the masses of the people."

I spoke on the American way of life and he agreed that "the living conditions of the American working class are the highest in the world; the American worker though is having illussions. The illussion of the American worker is that he to can become a capitalist. This is one of the reasons why conditions in the United States are different than in any other capitalist country and this is also one of the main reasons why a country with so many millions of workers has only a small Communist Party while France, for an example, as such a big Communist Party. The French worker knows that he can not become a capitalist. He has a tradition of generations of workers while the American working class has only a short history of working class struggles. Of course this is only an illussion which the American working class is living with. If we turn back to 30's we could find this illussion (he was reffering to the economic crises of the 1930's) but the American working class is still living with it and we must take this in account." His conclusion was that "We" must work within the Decocratic Party which "to a certain extent represents the masses of the American people while the Republican Party is definately the party of monopoly capitalism".

He also spoke on "Geneva which was forced upon the Eisenhower administration by the American people" and that "no matter how hard Eisenhower and Dulles try to destroy the Geneva spirit they can not very well do it because the world wants peace."

He underlined that it is "our job, the job of the left-wing movement and of the American working class to keep alive the Geneva spirit and again we could accomplish this task

within the ranks of the Democratic Party and we must, at the same time, form working class-progressive coalitions, coalitions with everyone who wants to advance the cause of peace and freedom."

After Gene's talk a lively discussion developed on the points raised by Gene. The participants of the discussion- [redacted], Sam and [redacted] agreed that the party's (CP) approach to the question of the 1956 election campaign is a correct one and that "the American worker is living in an atmosphere of illusions". During the discussions Gene disclosed that "the North-West Section (CP) is now discussing the question of dissolving the American Labor Party in our section (the Bainbridge ALP). We want to form some kind of a forum which will take the place of the ALP. We believe that the ALP as a political party lived out its usefulness but we don't want to lose the ALP people. A discussion forum of a progressive non-partisan nature will keep the people together. These people, than well not be bound by decisions of a political party; they will be free to act and we will be able to direct them in the right direction. It is obvious that a member of the ALP can not affiliate himself with the Democratic Party but as a member of a non-political forum he can, and this is what want to do. As I said, this question is still in the discussion stage."

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The meeting again postponed the discussion of the CP Fund drive (please, see previous report on this subject) for the next meeting which will take place on Feb. 2nd, 1956 at the apart. of [redacted] Bronx, NY. The meeting decided to continue further with the drive of getting subs for the Worker and the Daily Worker. [redacted] asked everyone present to attend the Daily Worker meeting in Carnegie Hall on January 20th, "where for the first time in years we will again hear our leaders talk to us. I know that everyone of us is anxious to welcome Gene Dennis and Johnny Gates." Everyone took tickets.

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J. Morris

O F F I C E M E M O R A N D U M * * * U N I T E D S T A T E S G O V E R N M E N T

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-125)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 3-14-56

Extreme care must be used in reporting and handling the following information in order to protect the identity of the informant.

Re New York teletype dated March 7, 1956, containing information from CG 5824-S pertaining to a meeting of the National Board of the Communist Party, USA, held in New York City on March 5 and 6, 1956, at which time there was a debate concerning an interpretation of the statements issued during and after the recent 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, particularly with regard to the use of force and violence.

On March 13, 1956, CG 5824-S, who has furnished reliable information in the past, received a letter dated March 8, 1956, which was mailed by JOHN

- 4 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
 - (1 - 100-) (CP-Line)
 - (1 - 100-3-74) (CP-Compros)
- ⑦ - New York (REGISTERED)
 - (1 - 100-4931) (CP, USA)
 - (1 - 100-95583) (CP, USA-Line) (#12-15)
 - (1 - 100-86624) (CP, USA-International Relations) (#12-14)
 - (1 - 100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (#19)
 - (1 - 100-23774) (JOHN WILLIAMSON)
 - (1 - 134-91) (NY 694-S) (P & C)
 - (1 - 100-81752) (CP, USA-Compros) (#7-5)
- 4 - Chicago
 - (1 - A)134-46-2148a)
 - (1 - 100-20881) (CP-Line)
 - (1 - 100-17965) (CP-Compros)

JEK:RML
(15)

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DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

WILLIAMSON in London, England, on March 9, 1956. This letter was for transmittal to EUGENE DENNIS and CG 5824-S immediately sent the letter to NY 694-S for delivery to DENNIS so that DENNIS would have the benefit of its contents prior to the meeting of the Executive Committee of the National Board of the Communist Party, USA, scheduled for Thursday, March 15, 1956.

CG 5824-S made a handwritten copy of WILLIAMSON's letter and on March 13, 1956, made available to SA JOHN E. KEATING two dictaphone memo belts containing excerpts from WILLIAMSON's letter and an analysis of WILLIAMSON's remarks. These memo belts were transcribed by Typist [REDACTED] and this transcription is located in Chicago file A)134-46-2148.

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It is to be noted that CG 5824-S has advised that EUGENE DENNIS is the General Secretary of the CP, USA. In this information made available by CG 5824-S on March 13, 1956, he advised that JOHN WILLIAMSON attended the 20th Congress of the CPSU in Moscow, Russia, and that in the opinion of the informant, WILLIAMSON is not talking for himself in this letter, which contains advice for the CP, USA, as a result of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. CG 5824-S stated that JOHN WILLIAMSON undoubtedly spoke to some Russians and other leading Communists from all over the world and that he most likely has had a discussion with the leadership of the British Communist Party. Since WILLIAMSON is considered an expert with regard to the American scene, he assumed the task of hurriedly giving some advice to the CP, USA. CG 5824-S was of the opinion, based on information contained in WILLIAMSON's letter, that WILLIAMSON has an international assignment dealing with Anglo-American problems.

CG 5824-S advised that WILLIAMSON, in his letter, stresses what he and what all Communist leaders consider the most important and fundamental questions which were dealt with at the 20th Congress of the CPSU. These questions are:

1. Peaceful co-existence;
2. That war is not inevitable;
3. That social change might be accomplished without civil war or force and violence.

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

CG 5824-S stated that WILLIAMSON is addressing himself to EUGENE DENNIS and the leadership of the CP, USA. WILLIAMSON wants the CP, USA, to see these problems in a balanced way without becoming lost or diverted because of a discussion of personalities. This means, of course, a discussion of the role which was played by JOSEPH STALIN. WILLIAMSON states that while STALIN played an important role in relation to many of these problems which are currently under discussion and that while the achievements of the Russians are not unrelated to STALIN and that while basic criticism can now be made of STALIN and his works, the problems raised by NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV, and previously enumerated, are of greater importance to the various Communist Parties, particularly to the Communist Party in the United States. WILLIAMSON concerns himself chiefly with the problem of the use of force and violence and reminds EUGENE DENNIS of some discussion they had during July of 1955.

In order to more completely understand this phase of WILLIAMSON's remarks, CG 5824-S quotes from the address of NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV as it appeared in the February 17, 1956, issue of "For a Lasting Peace, For a Peoples Democracy!" The following is a quotation from KHRUSHCHEV's remarks:

"It is probable that forms of transitions to Socialism will become more and more diversified. Moreover, the implementation of these forms need not be associated with civil war under all circumstances. Our enemies like to depict us Leninists as advocates of violence, always and everywhere. True, we recognize the need for the revolutionary transformation of capitalist society into Socialist society. It is this that distinguishes the revolutionary Marxist from the reformists, the opportunists. There is no doubt that in a number of capitalist countries the violent overthrow of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the sharp aggravation of the class struggle connected with this are inevitable. But the forms of social revolution vary. It is not true that we regard violence and civil war as the only way to remake society."

DIRECTOR, FBI,

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

CG 5824-S states that KHRUSHCHEV goes on to point out that LENIN had hoped that the revolution in Russia in 1917 would develop peacefully, but the imperialists intervened in Russian affairs and created a civil war, thus the Bolsheviks were compelled to use force and violence. KHRUSHCHEV then raises some of the questions connected with this problem of force and violence. He points out that if a capitalist class resists or opposes the transition to Socialism, then naturally the capitalists will resort to force and violence and the proletariat has to use violence against them. KHRUSHCHEV concludes that since Socialism as a world system is stronger than capitalism, and capitalism has become weaker, while democracy has developed throughout the world, it is possible that under these circumstances the Communists can rally around them the intelligentsia, the toiling peasantry, the working class, and as KHRUSHCHEV states "can capture a stable majority in Parliament and transform the latter from an organ of bourgeoisie democracy, into a genuine instrument of the peoples' will. In such an event, this institution, traditional in many highly developed capitalist countries, may become an organ of genuine democracy, democracy for the working people."

KHRUSHCHEV goes on "The winning of a stable Parliamentary majority backed by a mass revolutionary movement of the proletariat and of all the working people could create for the working class of a number of capitalist and former colonial countries, the conditions needed to secure fundamental social changes.

"Whatever the form of the transition to Socialism, the decisive and indispensable factor is the political leadership of the working class headed by its vanguard. Without this, there can be no transition to Socialism.

"It must be strongly emphasized that the more favorable conditions for the victory of Socialism created in other countries, are due to the fact that Socialism has won in the Soviet Union and is winning in the peoples' democracies."

CG 5824-S then comments that while KHRUSHCHEV gave the Communists a theoretical "out" as regards civil war and

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

insurrection, having in mind at this time particularly France and Italy, and perhaps other countries such as the Scandinavian countries, he also placed some reservations in his theory as is evidenced by this quotation:

"In the countries where capitalism is still strong and has a huge military and police apparatus at its disposal, the reactionary force will, of course, inevitably offer serious resistance. There the transition to Socialism will be attended by a sharp class, revolutionary struggle."

CG 5824-S states that WILLIAMSON wants to warn the American Communists to have a balanced view when WILLIAMSON states in his letter:

"I would emphasize that stress be placed on the democratic path--Congress, etc. Always a theoretical possibility and desire would be clear. But as a teacher that is not enough, especially when it comes to fundamentals like I raised with you last July. Here we must also deal with other alternatives that people may have forced on them."

Commenting on these remarks of WILLIAMSON, CG 5824-S states that "what WILLIAMSON wants to bring out is that while theoretically and even in a tactical sense the democratic processes should be stressed, the American Communists should keep in mind that the ruling class may impose other circumstances upon them and therefore they may be compelled to use other than peaceful means in the fight for power."

CG 5824-S further advises that WILLIAMSON also warns against creating illusions; by illusions WILLIAMSON means that the American Communists may talk only of peaceful transition and thus might blunt their militancy whereas it may be necessary at some stage in the struggle to fight rather than depend on the capture of Congress or on a peaceful transition to power. WILLIAMSON goes on to draw some conclusions from the domestic scene in the United States as it grows out of the international situation and thus has an effect on the CP, USA. WILLIAMSON alerts the CP, USA, to

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

what he calls continuing dangers. He states that as long as the cold war tactics remain predominant they will have what he terms "domestic concomitance". WILLIAMSON states that while he sees some relaxation in international tensions he warns the American Communists to be alert to the maneuvers of the ruling classes and that they should keep in mind the fable of the spider and the fly. He is also surprised that so many Communists have come out into the open and that the CP, USA, has abandoned the underground. He warns that there may be more arrests. He also states that the American Communists should realize that there are still more obstacles in the road ahead and that it is not inevitable that they can go on working openly without repression, without arrests, and that they will not be able to travel a smooth road to power.

With regard to this phase of WILLIAMSON's letter, CG 5824-S comments that WILLIAMSON's viewpoint on the problem of force and violence seems to correspond or at least seems to be somewhat closer to the viewpoint of EUGENE DENNIS expressed at the National Board meeting of March 5 and 6, 1956 (see re New York teletype). CG 5824-S comments, however, that he believes that it is going to be difficult for DENNIS to move the majority of the National Board from its position. The majority of the National Board of the CP, USA, looks upon the theoretical propositions of KHRUSHCHEV as giving them a foundation for their opportunism in proposing tactical maneuvers. The majority of the members of the National Board of the CP, USA, say that since the struggle for power in the United States is still some way off, that they are not interested in the question of illusions which they may be creating. When the proper time comes they will then try to divest the public of its illusions about capitalistic democracy.

CG 5824-S states that this portion of WILLIAMSON's letter is very important and will probably result in a considerable amount of debate in the ranks of the CP, USA, as an interpretation is placed upon it.

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

Latin America

CG 5824-S further advises that in his letter WILLIAMSON raises the question of Latin America and reminds the CP in the United States that the Latin American Communists who were present at the 20th Congress of the CPSU are worried and concerned because their connections with the CP, USA, have become weakened and seem to be in a very bad state as compared to ten or fifteen years ago. In this regard WILLIAMSON states: "I think it should be changed at once and can't emphasize my feelings too much on this. In fact, insularism in general at present would be a great crime." CG 5824-S states that what WILLIAMSON is telling the CP, USA, is that it must establish contacts with the Latin American Communist Parties as soon as possible, that the Communists in the United States must not isolate themselves from the international movement, and that, as he puts it, this insularism would be a crime.

CG 5824-S comments that he pointed out some weeks ago that the Russians are taking a greater interest in Latin America. CG 5824-S stated that this has been emphasized again and again in recent weeks and that now WILLIAMSON in his letter places the Latin American problem before the Communists in the United States in a very urgent way.

CG 5824-S further advised that WILLIAMSON concluded his letter by reminding EUGENE DENNIS that while he, WILLIAMSON, may seem isolated from the CP, USA, that his relationship to the CP, USA, is going to deepen and that he is interested in American affairs. It is because of this statement that CG 5824-S is of the opinion that WILLIAMSON has an international assignment dealing with Anglo-American problems.

Moscow Report and the Smith Act Trials

It's Getting Harder To Distort Communist Policy

By ALAN MAX

NIKITA S. KHRUSHCHEV had hardly finished his report to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, when it immediately figured in two Smith Act trials here in this country. At the same time it provoked speculation in the press as to its effects upon the Government's prosecutions under the thought control law.

On Friday, in Philadelphia, at the trial of Dr. Albert Blumberg under the "membership" section of the Smith Act, portions of Khrushchev's report were read aloud by both the prosecution and the defense. Involved was the section of the report dealing with the possibility of parliamentary transition to socialism. The prosecution read into the record the paragraph in which Khrushchev said that "in countries where capitalism is still strong and where it controls an enormous military and police machine, the serious resistance of the reactionary forces is inevitable."

The defense read into the record the points which had attracted world-wide attention in the report: Khrushchev's reaffirmation of Lenin's position that revolutions "are not exportable" and that "the establishment of a new social order in any country is the internal affair of its own people," and Khrushchev's statement that in view of the "radical changes" that "have taken place in the historical situation" since 1917, there now exists the possibility of "employing the parliamentary form for the transition to socialism."

JUDGE KRAFT asked whether the defense held that Khrushchev was an "authorized spokesman for the American Communist Party."

The defense replied that Khrushchev could in no way speak for the American Party but that his report flatly contradicted the prosecution's contention that Communists "conspire to advocate the DUTY and NECESSITY to overthrow the government by force and violence."

At the same time in a Smith Act trial in Hartford, Conn., the government rested its case. Whereupon the defense made its motions for acquittals and one of the attorneys, Miss Katherine Rorabach, quoted Khrushchev in her argument. The judge denied the acquittal motions and the local papers gleefully headlined the

(Continued on Page 13)

CLIPPING FROM

THE WORKER

DATED Feb 26, 1956
Pg. 5 Col. 2

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Smith Act

(Continued from Page 5)

story "Khrushchev Fails to Help Comm. Reds."

But this note of triumph was not shared everywhere. For example, the New York Herald Tribune carried a lengthy article on Monday of this week by its staff writer Marguerite Higgins on the relation of the Khrushchev report to the Smith Act prosecutions.

MISS HIGGINS noted that Mr. Khrushchev contended that due to radical changes in the historical situation it was now conceivable that under special circumstances communism could be achieved by regular parliamentary means.

"This has import for all nations, including the United States, where Communist parties exist," Miss Higgins continued.

"American Communist leaders will undoubtedly insist that they are—and intend to act—peacefully within the law. Now they have Mr. Khrushchev to back them up publicly with a speech that will be a Communist bible. What happens now to our government's case?"

What had happened was that Khrushchev was giving world-wide prominence to the experiences and views of various Communist Parties, including the American party, over the past several years, and was drawing some general conclusions from these views.

Karl Marx himself and leading Marxists since his time had discussed the possibilities of peaceful transition to socialism under certain conditions (maintaining that where this would not be possible it would be because of the violence of the capitalists). Especially since 1935, and with the rise of fascism and the danger of war, Communists in various countries, including the United States, had emphasized the definite possibility of a parliamentary or constitutional transition to Socialism. Thus William Z. Foster wrote in an official party document "In Defense of the Communist Party and the Indicted Communist Leaders" (published in May, 1949) that "the Communist movement in this country as well as abroad, has been going along on the practical working theory that in this period, because of the mass struggle against fascism and war, it has become possible in a whole number of democratic countries legally to elect democratic governments, which could be by curbing and defeating all capitalist violence, orientate in the direction of building Socialism."

THE SAME theme was repeated as recently as Jan. 20 at Carnegie Hall where Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist Party, and John Gates, editor of the Worker, stressed the constitutional path to socialism in the first speeches the government had permitted them to make in five years. Dennis, for example, asserted that the workers and farmers government that would effect the transition from capitalism to Socialism, would be "headed by an American President and act through an American Congress." The Communists "desire and advocate," he continued "that this people's democracy shall be established by constitutional and democratic processes!"

It is the contention of the Communists that their efforts to strengthen democratic processes in the country and to increase the strength of the working class and its allies, will at the same time create the conditions which could make possible a constitutional transition to Socialism at some future and unknown time.

One thing is certain: the courts will not be able to brush off the real position of the Communists, as easily as they have in the past few years.

(p2)

OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C43) DATE: 3/13/56
FROM: SA JOSEPH T. O'LEARY, Section 20-11
SUBJECT: CP, USA, DISTRICT NUMBER TWO
KINGS COUNTY
IS - C

Identity of Informant: NY 1657-S*
Reliability: Who has furnished reliable information in the past.
Date Received: 2/14/56

On NY 1657-S* advised on 2/14/56 that a CP meeting, believed to be a meeting of Section Organizers of the Kings County CP, was held on that date at 1212 Kings Highway, Brooklyn, New York, a CP meeting place, at which the information set out hereinafter was obtained.

GEORGE (BLAKE CHARNEY) was the principal speaker of the evening and he prefaced his speech by remarking that arrangements were made on the previous evening for him to

1-NY (100-26603-Sub 32) (P&C) (20-11)
1-NY (100-26603-C43) (JFH) (20-11)
1-NY (100-50806) (GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY) (7-5)
1-NY (100-21421) (ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG) (7-5)
1-NY (100-) (NORMAN THOMAS) (7-2)
1-NY (100-8424) (ROGER BALDWIN)(ph) (7-2)
1-NY (100-) (JOHN P. BURKE, International President, Painters and Paperhangers Union)(7-6)
1-NY (100-) () (ph) Editor of the "Reporter"(7-6)
1-NY (100-79717) (CP, USA, POLITICAL ACTIVITIES) (12-14)
1-NY (100-95583) (CP LINE) (12-14)
1-NY (100-) () (ph)(United Auto Workers)(7-6)
1-NY (100-1696) (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) (7-5)
1-NY (100-) () (ph) () of Local 1707, Social Service) (7-6)
1-NY (100-) (FNU () DPOWA District 65)(7-6)
1-NY (100-) (FNU () (ph) (a literary figure) (7-6)
1-NY (100-51955) (SAM COLEMAN) (7-5)
1-NY (100-111152) (ROYAL FRANCE, NY Attorney, engaged for re-trial in March, 1956, of CP leaders in NYC (12-14)
1-NY (100-49144) () (7-6)
1-NY (100-89590) (CP, USA, STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY) (12-14)
1-NY (100-) (FNU () Butchers Union) (7-6)

JTO:mlw
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MEMO

NY 100-26603-C43)

report to the County Board on a discussion by the members of the State Board concerning Civil Liberties in the South, which issue was the topic of a panel discussion by a CP Legislative Conference held in New York City in December, 1955. CHARNEY stated that, at the Legislative Conference, he and others attempted to present to the Party, a whole new instrument in the struggle. CHARNEY indicated that this new estimate worked out a new approach, to wit, "Back to Civil Liberties, Back to Civil Rights." CHARNEY stated that this estimate worked out a new approach on the new "political" climate.

CHARNEY indicated that the crucial aspect of the struggle for democracy is the Supreme Court decision on segregation - the vital heart of the struggle. CHARNEY indicated that the political climate is changing and stated that there is an upsurge against reaction and pointed out that a heavy blow was dealt to McCARTHY and "McCarthyism," during 1954.

CHARNEY pointed out that he and others at the Legislative Conference also attempted to present a defense of the CP, which was related to the fight for democracy. CHARNEY stated that, by means of reviewing their experience in past mistakes, they have come to realize that in order to merge the defense of the CP with the total struggle for democracy, what has to be given primacy was not the validity of Marxism, but the fundamental democratic right for Communists to express their views. CHARNEY explained that, in that way, they could develop a united front in the fight for democracy. CHARNEY indicated that, in the past, that was not always clear and because of this, it tended to separate the fight of the Party for its rights in the fight against McCarthyism.

CHARNEY stated that the defense of the CP should be presented in such a form that it would become a part of the struggle for democracy. He stated that the CP has not yet succeeded in embracing ~~itself~~ movement with this concept but that some important headway had been made.

CHARNEY listed the following victories by the party as evidence of the change in political climate that has been taking place:

MEMO

NY 100-26603-043

1. The Lattimore case, where the Government was forced to withdraw its indictment.

2. The decision by the Supreme Court to review the Smith Act.

3. The trial of CP leaders in Cleveland.

CHARNEY stated that the significance of these victories lies in the fact that they have been achieved in the face of a policy of no modification on the part of the Government.

CHARNEY said that the fight for democracy was a fight against McCarthyism and that the readiness of the democratic forces to defend the rights of the CP has been the biggest factor in the democratic movement. CHARNEY stated that the Jewish question provided a pivotal point in the development of Fascism in Germany and the Negro Question provides the pivotal point in the development of Fascism in the United States.

CHARNEY stated that it is hard to separate the struggle of the Party for its rights in America and that of the Negro for his rights in America. CHARNEY pointed out that the Party should provide leadership for the Negro in his fight, in order to win greater adherence because of its stand concerning the Eastland Committee and the TILL Case. CHARNEY pointed out in relation to the changing political climate, the unfavorable reception given to [redacted] (ph) a year ago when she went to see Mrs. ROOSEVELT and was told by Mrs. ROOSEVELT to take the next boat back to Russia; whereas, Mrs. ROOSEVELT has joined other people of prominence in seeking amnesty for the CP leaders.

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CHARNEY mentioned the following people of prominence who are of a like political attitude as NORMAN THOMAS, particularly since the advent of the policy of co-existence:

Professor [redacted] (ph), a historian and opinion maker, whose articles presently appear in the "New York Times" Magazine Section.

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FNU [redacted], an outstanding man of letters who has been associated with democratic politics and literature.

MEMO

NY 100-26603-C43

CHARNEY made reference to a conference held at an unspecified date in the past, wherein a relationship was established with NORMAN THOMAS through the medium of ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG, who had recruited NORMAN THOMAS into the Socialist Party in 1916. CHARNEY indicated that, as a result of this conference, a basis for a united front has been worked out, which has been of great value to the CP.

CHARNEY stated that NORMAN THOMAS had associated with them in a number of things, including his assistance in organizing a group of individuals who had issued an appeal for amnesty for the CP leaders. CHARNEY made reference to several individuals in this group, including Reverend [redacted] (ph) from the John Haynes Community Church, MURRAY KEMPTON (ph), "New York Post" reporter, and ROGER BALDWIN. CHARNEY indicated that these individuals sent out an appeal via the mails for funds for TRACHTENBERG and CHARNEY's forthcoming trial. CHARNEY mentioned that the first contribution came in from JOHN P. BURKE, International President of the Painters and Paperhangers Union and that a contribution also came in from [redacted] Editor of the "Reporter", who are both as anti-Communist as they come.

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CHARNEY explained that the point that interested these people was the fundamental right of advocacy. CHARNEY stated that he understood that BURKE and [redacted] had read about the address by NORMAN THOMAS to commemorate EUGENE DEBBS in Chicago, in the recent past, at which many trade union personages were present, including CHET BREYHOUSE (ph) of the United Automobile Workers, FNU [redacted] (ph) of the Butchers Union, and others. CHARNEY indicated that some of these people were identified with the Socialist movement which is beginning to resurge and which opens the door to the advocacy of Marxism, and an opportunity to bring Marxism back to the trade unions, which is of terrific significance.

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In conclusion, CHARNEY stated that, at this banquet in commemoration of [redacted] in Chicago, NORMAN THOMAS made some very fine statements concerning ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN and the Smith Act, which were very well received.

MEMO

NY 100-26603-C43

CHARNEY added that he had spoken to NORMAN THOMAS recently and he had agreed to speak at Local 1707 Social Service - the [redacted] of which is [redacted] (ph), THOMAS' old running mate. CHARNEY stated that THOMAS would contact FRIEDMAN to see if he could arrange to speak at Local 1707.

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CHARNEY continued that "our people" think they can bring anywhere from 500 to 1000 workers to such a meeting and commented we "think we are on the verge of breaking through in the labor movement and THOMAS is helping."

CHARNEY stated that KEMPTON has been very popular at District 65 and he talked to LIVINGSTON(ph) to see if he could speak at a shop stewards meeting concerning the Smith Act and civil liberties. CHARNEY continued "we are getting closer. You know about KEMPTON's committal to speak for us and raise funds for us."

CHARNEY stated that KEMPTON has spoken at one affair already and was able to raise 500 and he is speaking at another affair Friday night.

CHARNEY commented that "almost everything we touch in attempting to establish a united front relationship has turned to gold." CHARNEY continued that SAM COLEMAN (ph) experimented on the east side by setting up an important group of ministers who are going in a delegation to Representative KLINE (ph) concerning the Smith Act and to urge KLINE to give his support to the repeal of the Smith Act. CHARNEY added that it was proposed that SAM, [redacted] and [redacted] the Party organizers there, should accompany these ministers with the delegation.

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CHARNEY stated that it helps to create new Communist and non-Communist relationships on a given issue

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MEMO

NY 100-26603-C43

because it opens up relationships in other operations as well. CHARNEY pointed out as an example of this, the fact that he was given a brush off by the American Civil Liberties Union in the past summer, whereas, as a result of NORMAN THOMAS aligning himself with us in the interim, he now could arrange an interview to see [redacted] (ph), [redacted] of the American Civil Liberties Union.

CHARNEY stated that [redacted] participated in a straight forward Civil Liberties Conference that broke up on the TROTSKYITE issue, and a week ago he invited ROYAL FRANCE (ph), one of the attorneys in a very old NY law firm, who is also one of the lawyers in "our case", to speak on the question "Why Defend Communists?" CHARNEY stated that FRANCE did a terrific job and at the conclusion of the forum, [redacted] indicated that it was the best forum of the year and that while he had formerly been bitterly anti-Communist, he had modified his position.

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3/16/56

AIR-TEL

RE:

NEW YORK (100-86624)

BUREAU (100-3-81)

CP, USA, INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
IS - C
DAYLET

[redacted] on 3/15/56 orally made the following observations concerning the 20th Congress of the CP of the
SU:

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"From the viewpoint of a most profound and abrupt shift in world Communist political tactical strategy and thinking, the 20th Congress of the CP of the SU requires the most careful evaluation and appraisal because of its decisions and discussions. This Congress betokens a shift in policy of the greatest magnitude. All Communist Parties, including the CP, USA, can be expected to give this 20th Congress and the path it has chartered, the most careful examination with the aim of applying new and different policies and tactics. In this regard, the CP, USA is already carrying on debates and discussions with the aim of finding new ways to recoup. From now on, it can be expected that the CP will be constantly shifting its tactical methods and type of programs. All Communist Parties are going to change a generations type and method of work in the light of historic changes such as the fact that one million people are now under Communism and the failure of capitalism to collapse. This Congress betokens the onset of a period of aggressive Communist efforts to advance through the old Trojan horse method. A new pattern is about to evolve, and it will be one that will change the character and nature of the Party in order to make the work of the CP more effective. The 20th Congress of the CP SU has given the Communist Parties of the world a blood transfusion. Previously, Party forces have been on the defensive. Now,

4 - Bureau (100-3-81) (RM)

(1 - Bufile 100-15716)

1 - [redacted] (7-4)

1 - NY (100-86624 Sub A) (DAYLET) (12-14)

1 - NY (100-95583) (LINE)

1 - NY (100-86624) (12-14)

1 - Supervisor [redacted]

1 - [redacted] (7-4)

(9)

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100-95583-243

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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PAGE TWO

They are seeking the means to turn their focus on the offensive. This includes the CP, UAA. This Congress means more to the CP, UAA than anything that has happened in this country. This Congress has set the line for aggressive activity such as we have not seen before."

Informant will attempt to prepare a written report on the significance of the 20th Congress of the CP, UAA. Forgoing is submitted for Bureau's information.

KELLY

bc
3-22
OFFICE MEMORANDUM *** UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3)
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-125)
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 3-16-56

Extreme care must be used in handling and reporting the following information in order to protect the identity of the informant.

Re Chicago letter dated March 14, 1956, captioned as above, which contained excerpts of a letter from JOHN WILLIAMSON of London, England, to EUGENE DENNIS, General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA.

CG 5824-S, who has furnished reliable information in the past, made available the contents of this letter to SA JOHN E. KEATING on March 15, 1956. The following is set forth verbatim:

- 4 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
 - (1 - 100-) (CP, USA-Line)
 - (1 - 100-3-74) (CP, USA-Compros)
- 8 - New York (REGISTERED)
 - (1 - 100-4931) (CP, USA)
 - (1 - 100-96985) (CP, USA-Underground Operations)
 - (1 - ~~100-95583~~) (CP, USA-Line) (#12-15)
 - (1 - 100-4662) (CP, USA-International Relations) (#12-14)
 - (1 - 100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (#19)
 - (1 - 100-23774) (JOHN WILLIAMSON)
 - (1 - 134-91) (NY 694-S) (P & C)
 - (1 - 100-81752) (CP, USA-Compros) (#7-5)
- 4 - Chicago
 - (1 - A) 134-46)
 - (1 - 100-20881) (CP, USA-Line)
 - (1 - 100-17965) (CP, USA-Compros)

JEK:RML
(16)

100-95583-244

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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MAR 19 1956	
FBI - CHICAGO	

b6
b7C

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

"March 8, 1956

"Dear Friend,

"As an eager-beaver reporter I'm always anxious to share thoughts with you. The basic significance of the recent big jamboree I don't have to tell you. In numerous lands there seems to be a danger of missing the big and decisive thing, and getting diverted to the personalities and what follows. While the latter is of decisive importance, it must be seen in relationship to the whole picture, and in a sober and balanced way--not going overboard. The great achievements are not unrelated to the individual; but that doesn't prohibit basic criticism where due and necessary. The scope and many-sided character of this has been adequately dealt with.

"While all three fundamental questions dealt with are of great and decisive importance and have already registered throughout the world, the third gave me greatest concern and interest. There are many reasons to greet this elaboration, including my comments to you last July. It is important as far as understanding is concerned to absorb the entire presentation in a rounded out way, drawing conclusions for each country. There are obvious meanings for each, and I'm sure you are searching them out. The great stress is on the different situations in each country--as well as the difference of historical epochs in each country.

"Even in the new emphasis, it is possible that it will be realized in preferable way only part-way but responsibility will then be plain. Looking ahead, your balliwick will be last bastion, and some big decisions will have to be made by some people. Of course, relationship of forces will not only be further improved on world scale, but domestically also. If one wants to peer ahead one can visualize different possible reactions, and must take them all into account and recognize them all and let people recognize them all. Present day intransigence doesn't give too much hope for future, although the easiest way would always be preferable.

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

"I would emphasize that stress should be placed on democratic path--Congress, etc. Always a theoretical possibility and desire would be clear. But as a teacher that is not enough, especially when it comes to fundamentals like I raised with you last July. Here must also deal with other alternatives that people may have forced on them. Such comparable experiences even have historical parallels in U.S. If I was doing any writing I would want first of all to be clear myself. Then in what I would write I would avoid creating illusions, but equally avoid use of terms like "inevitable", while always emphasizing what is desirable and preferable. I wouldn't close my own or anyone else's eyes to what other, might do and what this might mean. Well, here I am sounding off when you don't need to hear my thinking and are able to do a lot of your own. I hope you will excuse the liberty I take in thinking out loud on current problems.

"Let me burden you with some other ideas of my own, for whatever they are worth. I think the various pronouncements about new developments in U.S. are correct, but it is equally necessary to emphasize continuing dangers, because as long as cold-war tactic remains primary, it will have domestic concomitants. There is obviously some relaxation and contradictory line, but it's good to be alert to maneuvers that remind one of fable of the spider and the fly. Without passing judgment, I have many misgivings, above all, I'm surprised that you have been seeing so many old friends. If I was a chess player, I might be able to write more effectively. I have a feeling that too many people seem to think that while there may still be some obstacles on the road ahead, that it is already definite that travel on that road is inevitable.

"Being away from home gives one the possibility of thinking, and new perspectives. I am sure, if one could ask them that all friends in Latin America are worried, concerned and upset at such a change in relations from 10 and 15 years ago. I think it should be changed at once and can't emphasize my feelings too much on this. In fact, insularism in general at present would be a great crime.

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

"In a family sense, we may be isolated from each other, but not forgotten. While this separation between you and I may even appear to deepen, I assure you it is not so. Warmest regards to our big scattered family from youngest to oldest."

In view of the fact that the above letter in transmission from WILLIAMSON to DENNIS only passed through the hands of three highly placed informants, Chicago Office strongly believes its contents should not under any circumstances be disseminated outside the Bureau. It is believed that CG 5821-S's interpretation plus excerpts as contained in Chicago letter dated March 14, 1956, are sufficient to discharge the Bureau's dissemination responsibilities in the Internal Security Field.

3/22/56

AIR-TEL

AIRMAIL-REGISTERED

SAN FRANCISCO (100-30717)

DIRECTOR, FBI

CP, USA, PARTY LINE

IS - C;

DAYLET

SF 1125-S* advised on 3/19/56 that on that date WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN, Chairman, CP District 13, in discussing the impact of the Twentieth Congress of the CP, USSR, on CP, USA, commented as follows:

Party membership here may begin asking "if the CP, USA, accepts the line of the CP of the Soviet Union on all questions; how does this rejection of STALIN reflect on our acceptance of their line during STALIN's time?" "How do we know they were right on anything?" SCHNEIDERMAN was of the opinion that explanations must be made in the light of "relation of forces" with stress on the argument that policies are tested and bad ones cast aside, as in the case of the policy on Yugoslavia, which was proved incorrect and abandoned.

SCHNEIDERMAN stated that the question being raised of the necessity of a re-evaluation of the American left as a result of the Twentieth Congress' action creates a situation that the Party must guard against, which he feels would be a criticism of the entire Party structure. SCHNEIDERMAN offered as a possibility the solicitation of selected comrades writing their views to the "Daily People's World," together with a few non-Party people. SCHNEIDERMAN referred to letter by RING LARDNER published in the "Worker" as an example of a non-Party person with a positive approach to socialism, and implied that the "Worker's" publication of opinions of ALLAN MAX and JOE CLARK were mere personal opinions and the only authoritative comment as of March 19th to have been from WILLIAM Z. FOSTER.

WILLIAM

3-Bureau

1-New York; 1-Chicago; 1-Los Angeles; 1-San Diego; 1-Honolulu (ALL AIR-REG)

1-SF 100-30717*

1-SF 100-34166 (DAYLET)

WHL:klr:S-1

(10)

100-95583-245

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAR 22 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

8/1

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b7c

OFFICE MEMORANDUM *** UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3)
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-2398)
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 3-21-56

Extreme care must be used in handling the following information, which must be completely paraphrased in order to protect the identity of the informant.

CG 5824-S, who has furnished reliable information in the past, made available to SA JOHN E. KEATING on March 13, 1956, for photostating, a letter written by LENA SCHERER on March 10, 1956, describing a meeting held in New York City on March 9, 1956, to celebrate the 75th birthday of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER. One copy of this letter is being furnished herewith to the New York Office for possible subsequent use as handwriting specimen. The Chicago copy of this letter is located in Chicago file 100-27630-1A1.

The following is the complete context of that portion of the letter dealing with the above mentioned celebration:

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
10 - New York (REGISTERED) (Encl.-1)
 (1 - 100-4931) (CP, USA)
 (1 - 100-95583) (CP-Line) (#12-25)
 (1 - 100-86624) (CP-International Relations) (#12-14)
 (1 - 100-80640) (CP-Negro Question)
 (1 - 100-80644) (CP-Youth Matters)
 (1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART)
 (1 - 100-23825) (BENJAMIN DAVIS) (#19)
 (1 - 100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (#19)
 (1 - 100-9365) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (#19)
 (1 - 100-34665) (LENA SCHERER)
3 - Chicago
 (1 - A)134-46)
 (1 - 100-27630) (LENA SCHERER)

JEK:RML
(15)

100-95583-246

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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MAR 22 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

"Last night's affair for the old man's birthday was very successful. The main hall seated 1,000 people and the hall downstairs 500 -. The tables were very nicely arranged, it was a reunion with many people. Most of the speeches were old time stuff as if nothing new has taken place. However the guest of honor did do a magnificent job. He called the audiences attention to the fact, that all cables that arrived spoke of the courage of our organization as a whole not singling out one individual. He pointed out that the reason why our ruling circles are forced to change on some issues is due to world forces of peace. He gave one the feeling of international significance of events, and did not talk as some of the boys do about our achievements here. It was one of his very best talks.

"The basic weakness of the affair consisted in the composition of the audience - Very, very few young people, and Negroes could almost be counted on fingers. I saw many of the chiefs, but outside of answering my hello I could not get any appointment. (though I tried since we were there one hour before affair) Phil was seated at the same table with us - His conversation was limited and we did not pressure him for any talk. So that's that.

"The Mikoyan speech came and it was quite a contribution to our understanding of the problem. I wonder if some of the people who are lecturing got the full meaning of it all.

"By the way both Gene and Ben made long speeches last night and neither said anything of importance."

SAC, NEW YORK (97-169)

3/19/56

GUSTAV S. ABRANDT

PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS, INC.
IS-C

[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, orally advised SA GUSTAV S. ABRANDT on 3/8/56, that LESTER RODNEY, Sports Editor of the "Daily Worker" had just returned from covering the Winter Olympics in Italy. RODNEY claimed to have spoken to "some pretty important people", who told him that the new CP line of "peace and friendliness" to everyone was so successful that Party recruiting was rapidly increasing, extending successfully even to former members of Mussolini's Fascist Party.

It was Informant's opinion that the new line in the United States would be expected to ease legal pressures against the CP aid recruiting of members and encourage some of the "scared" former contributors to open their purse strings.

Informant stated that RODNEY facetiously remarked that any Stalinists on the staff would have to hold their meetings in the cellar from now on.

- 1- [redacted] (P&G)
1-New York (100-13292) (LESTER RODNEY) (12-16)
1-New York (100-95553) (Line-CP) (12-14)

GSA:cr
(4)

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100-95553-247

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
MAR 29 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[Signature]

OFFICE MEMORANDUM *** UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-)
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-20881)
 SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA - LINE
 INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 4-3-56

CG 5824-S, who has furnished reliable information in the past, orally furnished the following information to SA JOHN E. KEATING on March 20, 1956. This information consists primarily of the reaction and opinions of CG 5824-S to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with particular regard to the question of JOSEPH STALIN and what effect it may have on other Communist Parties, especially the Communist Party in the United States.

CG 5824-S stated that in his opinion the denunciation of JOSEPH STALIN by NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV at the 20th Congress of the CPSU will not cause a split either in the leadership nor in the organization of the CP, USA. However, with regard to individual members in the CP, USA, the informant stated that anything may happen. CG 5824-S believes that some members who may have had some misgivings or reservations about Communism, may as a result of the discussions growing out of the STALIN situation, think matters out to a further degree and make some decisions or some moves with regard to the CP, USA.

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
- 5 - New York (REGISTERED)
 - (1 - 100-4931) (CP, USA)
 - (1 - 100-86624) (CP, USA - International Relations)
 - (1 - 100-) (CP, USA - Line)
 - (1 - 100-18672) (MAX WEISS) (#19)
 - (1 - 100-80640) (CP, USA - Negro Question)
- 1 - San Francisco (100-30717) (CP, USA-Line) (REGISTERED)
- 6 - Chicago
 - (1 - A) 134-46)
 - (1 - 100-2398) (CP, USA)
 - (1 - 100-19841) (MAX WEISS)
 - (1 - 100-18961) (CP - International Relations)
 - (1 - 100-18956) (CP - Negro Question)

JEK:RML
 (11)

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NEW YORK	

INFO

100-95583-248

b6
 b7c

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA - LINE

CG 5824-S stated that he would not be surprised if some prominent individuals in the CP, USA, tell the CP to be damned. He further stated that any person in the CP who has a grievance will link this grievance to the methods of Stalinism and in turn will blame his grievance on the leadership of the CP, USA, which blindly followed STALIN.

CG 5824-S stated that whenever the CPSU has had any problems, whether it be with Trotskyism, right wing deviation, revisionism, etc., there have been corresponding repercussions in other Communist Parties, including the CP, USA, and the informant believes that the possibility is good that there will be a similar occurrence with regard to the issue of Stalinism.

The informant stated that he thinks that the countries which will have the most serious problem will be the satellite countries where leaders were purged on the basis of charges that they were sympathetic to TITO. Now TITO is being absolved after he executed or put thousands of Communists in jail. CG 5824-S stated that the leadership in the satellite countries cannot get away with the statement that everything was done according to law and justice. Repercussions in the satellite countries may have some influence on the foreign-born Party members in the CP, USA.

With regard to Russia, CG 5824-S believes that the present leadership in Russia will be able to win the majority of the population which resented the discipline of the STALIN era. Every class of the population in Russia suffered as a result of police rule. Therefore, they will sympathize with the present regime. The informant further stated that the present leadership in Russia also has the backing of the army and can get the seven million members of the CPSU and twenty million members of the Young Communist League to fall in line with their policies. Furthermore, the present leadership is cutting down on the number of hours in the work day, breaking down some of the centralization in farming, generally making economic concessions to the people, and has won diplomatic victories during the past year, particularly in regard to the peoples' desire for peace.

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA - LINE

CG 5824-S stated that all of these things give the leadership in Russia a basis for holding on to the masses of the people and for mobilizing the people against the STALIN cult.

With regard to the Negro people in the United States, CG 5824-S advised that he was somewhat surprised to learn in discussion with leading CP members who are also Negroes, that these persons favored STALIN and are resentful of the present attacks on him. CG 5824-S stated that after reflection he believes that the Negro CP leaders in the CP, USA, may look upon JOSEPH STALIN, a Georgian, as a member of a minority group in Russia who reached the top leadership position in Russia. Since the Negroes in the United States are a minority group, they look with reverence toward STALIN since he was also a member of a minority group; therefore, they resent the recent attacks on him.

With regard to the CP, USA, line concerning the attack on STALIN, CG 5824 S believes that the CP, USA, will eventually state that it does not have to be in the vanguard in the attack on STALIN but that when he is attacked by the CPSU, his own party and the leading Communist Party, then the CP, USA, cannot ignore this attack. From this premise the CP, USA, will probably then go into a discussion of the need for inner-party democracy and follow up with an attack on the cult of the individual.

CG 5824-S further advised on March 27, 1956, that in a recent conversation with MAX WEISS, who is in charge of education for the CP, USA, WEISS voiced the following complaint against the Russians. WEISS stated that the CP, USA, has followed the CPSU blindly. Yet when the CPSU changes policy such as its recent attack on STALIN, no advance notice is given to the CP, USA, before it is leaked to the press. WEISS stated that the CP, USA, will complain to the CPSU that it does not want to be a stooge any longer, that the CPSU is not telling the CP, USA, enough, and that some of the problems of the CPSU were not solely Russian problems.

✓
2/26/56
A 21-201

ADMINISTRATIVE

SAN FRANCISCO (100-30717)

DIRECTOR, FBI

CP, USA, PARTY LINE
IS-C
MAYEST

CP 1125-SB advised that on 2/23/56 WILLIAM CONNORSMAN, Chairman of CP District 13, who recently returned from CP Headquarters in New York, related the following information concerning a report made by an unidentified individual at National CEN:

There has been a physical and political separation between the leadership and membership of the CP, and the Party must get back into the market place of ideas. The Party is suffering from isolation and there is no reason that it should be as isolated as it was. This isolation is not solely due to the "legal operations."

CONNORSMAN indicated that this report continued that "we must learn how to identify Communists with the country, which we haven't done. On the question of force and violence, the Party since 1947 has been trying to deny that it stands for force and violence, and that that idea was brought to the masses and some did not accept, even as some in the Party did not accept it, looking upon it as just a legal maneuver, as did the enemies of the Party."

This report continued that CP policies should be identified as American policies. In summarizing the remarks of the unidentified speaker, CONNORSMAN related three points:

1. Identification of the CP as an American party.
2. Repudiation of force and violence, which has been done to some extent.
3. Fight for civil liberties and not just the civil liberties for Communists but for everyone. This latter point is so that the public can't say that the Communists are only interested in themselves and if they ever come to power they will be only for themselves.

3-Bureau

1-New York; 1-Chicago; 1-Los Angeles; 1-San Diego; 1-Honolulu (ALL AMEN)

1-CP 100-30717

1-CP 100-34166 (MAYEST)

1-CP 100-35539 (CP LINE)

Wahiko (5-1)
(11)

95583-249
99583
SERIALIZED *Wahiko*
FEB 27 1956
FBI - NEW YORK

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DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM SAC, SF (100-20717)
RE: CP, USA, PARTY LINE

CONFIDENTIAL reiterated that we have to make an American CP and that just because a CP of any given foreign nation takes "a" position it should be examined carefully to see if it is good for the CP in the U.S.

CONFIDENTIAL continued that there is an upsurge of interest in socialism among the leaders in the trade union movement, citing that when "WHEAT" (PINK?) was here he mentioned that HENRI THOMAS is interested and this is the reason for the "break through" with him. It was indicated that the leaders in auto, steel and packing workers, and so on, are interested in socialism and THOMAS has stated that he hasn't seen this in a number of years.

WHEAT

February 27, 1956

AIRTEL

AIRTEL - TRANSMITTED

NEW YORK (100-30717)

WINEY, E. W.

CP, NY - PARTY LINE

EX-117

- SAC
- DIV. 1
- DIV. 2
- DIV. 3
- DIV. 4
- SEC. 1
- SEC. 2
- SEC. 3
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- SEC. 16
- SEC. 17
- SEC. 18
- SEC. 19
- SEC. 20

CP 1425-30 advised that on 2/25/56 WILLIAM SCHWIMMER, District 13, Communist Party (U.S.) Chairman, who had just returned from New York advised as follows. The material on the 20th Congress of the CP of the Soviet Union will not be available for some time. CP Headquarters in New York had no discussions on the Congress prior to 2/20/56 although stories were coming in daily. SCHWIMMER pointed out that as of that time the New York Times did not have the whole story.

There follows SCHWIMMER's analysis of Congress. Congress symbolized the tremendous success of the building of socialism in the Soviet Union and it shows confidence of continuing victories and successes. Three main points noted were: 1- Socialism can no longer be considered as a system for one or a few countries, but is the coming world system. 2- Regarding the question of peace, the future can not be considered in terms of the Capitalist world and Socialist world as actually at the present time many in the Communist countries are allied with the Socialist countries as anti-imperialists presenting a situation in which Socialism with its allies already represent a majority of mankind. 3- The call for unity of the Democratic forces in the world for peace opens the tactical question of the strength of the "peace camp."

- 1- Bureau (AM)(REG)
- ① New York (AM)(REG)
- 1- Honolulu (AM)(REG)
- 1- Los Angeles (AM)(REG)
- 1- San Diego (AM)(REG)
- 1- Chicago (AM)(REG)
- 1- NY (100-34166)
- 2- NY (100-30717)

WML/lps +1
(11)

100-95583-250
100-4431
SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
MAR 2 1956
FBI - NEW YORK

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b7C

PAGE TWO

The analysis continued that as an answer to embarrassing or controversial questions is the fact that this Congress is a congress of self-criticism, that the CP with a background of world-shaking successes is able in a thorough comprehensive and ruthless way to criticize its own mistakes. The successes could have been greater and could have been achieved sooner if it had not been for the many mistakes that were made. The self-criticism is of the present leadership as well as the past, the present Central Committee as well as Stalin. This forthright and ruthless criticism is made because the errors that were made blocked or delayed taking advantage of opportunities. Progress was blocked by the "cult of the individual" tied to the role of Stalin.

The criticism of the Central Committee was based on its lack of collective leadership. Congress was not just criticizing Stalin, but his contributions were so great that they overshadowed others that could have been made and there grew up a dependence in the Central Committee of the role of one man.

ENDIAN

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C40)

FROM: SA [REDACTED] (#20-10)

SUBJECT: BRONX COUNTY CP
IS-C

DATE: 3/1/56

1. [REDACTED] (P & C) (20-10)

1-NY 97-169 (DW & W) (7-2)

1-NY 100-17923 (JOHN GATES) (19)

1-NY 100-8057 (EUGENE DENNIS) (19)

1-NY 100-24638 (ABNER BERRY) (7-2)

1-NY 100-21259 [REDACTED] (12-16)

1-NY 100-82900 [REDACTED] (20-10)

1-NY 100-93796 (PEGGY DENNIS)

1-NY 100-14859 (ALAN MAX) (7-2)

1-NY 100-50806 (GEORGE B. CHARNEY) (7-5)

1-NY 100-18677 [REDACTED] (12-16)

1-NY 100-68373 [REDACTED] (20-10)

1-NY 100-126098 [REDACTED] (20-10)

1-NY 100-78589 [REDACTED] (19)

1-NY 100-27539 (CARL WINTER) (19)

1-NY 100-25880 [REDACTED] (20-10)

1-NY 100-51955 (SAM COLEMAN) (7-5)

1-NY 100-17924 [REDACTED] (12-14)

1-NY 100-1696 (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) (7-5)

1-NY 100-92763 (PETTIS PERRY) (7-5)

1-NY 100-41932 [REDACTED] (7-5)

1-NY 100-18676 (CLAUDIA JONES) (7-5)

1-NY 100-48033 (IRVING POTASH) (7-5)

1-NY 100-84994 (GUS HALL) (7-6)

1-NY 100-27452 [REDACTED] (7-5)

1-NY 100-21421 (ALEXANDER TRACTENBERG) (7-5)

1-NY 100-16868 [REDACTED] (20-10)

1-NY 100-82284 [REDACTED] (20-10)

1-NY 100-94360 [REDACTED] (20-10)

1-NY 100-76253 [REDACTED] (20-10)

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COPIES CONTINUED

MFD:bml
(42)

100-98583-251

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAR 2 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[REDACTED]

JWH

Memo
NY 100-26603-C40

Reference is made to the memo of SA [redacted] dated 2/8/56, to which was attached the report of [redacted] setting forth details of a rally for the 232nd Anniversary of the "Daily Worker" and "The Worker."

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This report was discussed with the informant on 2/17/56, and it was pointed out to him that he had the name ABNER GREEN and the name ABNER BERRY set out in the report and it was difficult to ascertain which was the correct name. The informant stated that ABNER BERRY was at the meeting and that any reference in the report to ABNER GREEN should be ABNER BERRY.

The name ABNER GREEN or just GREEN is set out as follows in the report:

COPIES CONTINUED

1-NY 100-9595 (WILLIAM WEINSTONE) (7-5)
1-NY 100-18056 ([redacted]) (20-10)
1-NY 100-80640 (CPUSA NEGRO QUESTION) (12-14)
1-NY 100-95583 (CPUSA LINE) (12-14)
1-NY 100-86624 (CPUSA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) (12-14)
1-NY 100-23825 (BEN DAVIS) (19)
1-NY 100-80636 (CPUSA LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITY) (12-14)
1-NY 100-89816 (FRED FINE) (7-5)
1-NY 100-16785 (JAMES JACKSON) (7-5)
1-NY 100-269 (HENRY WINSTON) (19)
1-NY 100-24448 (LILLIAN GATES) (7-5)

b6
b7C

Memo
NY 100-26603-C40

Page 3, paragraph 4.
Page 4, paragraph 3 and 8.
Page 5, paragraph 2.
Page 8, paragraph 2.
Page 9, paragraph 5 and 7.
Page 12, paragraph 5.

It is requested that all agents receiving a copy of this memo make the appropriate corrections by inserting the name ABNER BERRY or BERRY in the above paragraphs.

FBI RADIOGRAM

TO: BUREAU AND NEW YORKDATE: 3/1/56FROM: SAN FRANCISCO*CP USA 100-4931*

D E F E R R E D

CP, USA, PARTYLINE, IS-C. SF TWO TWO THREE TWO DASH S* ADVISED THAT ON FEB. 28 last, JOSEPH STAROBIN, CURRENTLY ON LECTURE TOUR IN CALIFORNIA, MET WITH WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN, CHAIRMAN OF CP THIRTEENTH DISTRICT, AT CPH, SF. IN DISCUSSING TOUR, STAROBIN ASKS SCHNEIDERMAN FOR OPINION AS TO WHETHER HE SHOULD DISCUSS TWENTIETH CP USSR CONGRESS. SCHNEIDERMAN'S REPLY WAS THAT STAROBIN SHOULD NOT TALK ON RUSSIA WHEN HE LIED TO TALK ON CHINA. HE ELABORATED THAT STAROBIN MAY GET QUESTIONS REGARDING THE PARTY CONGRESS DURING THE QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD AND SHOULD ANSWER THESE AS THEY COME UP. SCHNEIDERMAN WARNED STAROBIN THAT HE MAY HAVE SOME BAD MEETINGS AND CONTINUED THAT WHEN HE WAS IN NEW YORK LAST WEEK EUGENE DENNIS TOLD HIM THAT CP WAS TO HAVE A BOARD MEETING THERE THIS WEEK TO DISCUSS THE TWENTIETH CONGRESS AND IN THE MEANTIME THE DISTRICTS COULD ALSO DISCUSS IT, BUT THERE WERE TO BE NO PUBLIC MEETINGS AT WHICH ANYONE WOULD SPEAK ON THAT TOPIC UNTIL AFTER THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE CONSIDERS IT.

*Photostat copy to
100-13480 (Jos. Starobin)*

Photographic Work
Completed on **MAR 8 1956**
By Photo Lab. N. Y. Field Division

copy received in ser

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100-95583-252

SEARCHED <i>2/28</i>	INDEXED <i>2/28</i>
SERIALIZED <i>2/28</i>	FILED <i>2/28</i>
MAR 3 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[Signature]

CODE WORK: AJMTOR: 10:10am 3/2/56OPERATOR: VEMTOD: 9:45am 3/3/56

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

✓

OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-84)

DATE: March 2, 1956

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-30717)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - PARTY LINE
IS - C

SF 1425-S* provided the following information concerning a California State Board meeting held on February 25, 1956, immediately after the return to California of WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN, District 13 Chairman of the Communist Party (CP) from New York City, where he met with Communist leaders.

SCHNEIDERMAN in referring to a report given by [redacted] referred to it as mainly a report on 3 magazines, the "Guardian," the "Monthly Review," and the "American Socialist." SCHNEIDERMAN indicated that [redacted] gave characterizations of these three periodicals and in summarizing [redacted] characterizations of the "Guardian" stated that it has a certain leftist approach on some questions and a sort of negative attitude toward labor. "You know what its line is on elections and so on."

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- 2- Bureau (100-3-84) (REG)
 - 1- New York (CP - PARTY LINE) (REG)
 - 1- New York (NATIONAL GUARDIAN) (REG)
 - 1- New York (SOCIALIST UNION OF AMERICA) (REG)
 - 1- Detroit (SOCIALIST UNION OF AMERICA) (REG)
 - 1- Minneapolis (REG)
 - 1- Los Angeles (REG)
 - 1- SF (NATIONAL GUARDIAN (100-31356)
 - 1- SF (SOCIALIST UNION OF AMERICA)
 - 1- SF (CP - USA - PARTY LINE)
- 1-Chicago (REG)

WWR/lps S-1
(12)

Photostat copies to
100-9573 (red spurs)
100-8057 (Engel Dennis)
100-89816 (Fred Dine)

TST 3/15/56

Photographic Work
Completed on MAR 16 1956
By Photo Lab. Field Division

100-95583-253

SEARCHED <i>h</i>	INDEXED <i>h</i>
SERIALIZED <i>h</i>	FILED <i>h</i>
MAR 6 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

SVW

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TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-84)
FROM: SAC, SF (100-30717)
RE: CP, USA - PARTY LINE

He spoke of it having a friendly attitude toward the Soviet Union, but is critical of the CP in a guarded way and that its attacks (on the CP USA) are such as are in keeping with the trends. He mentioned that the general characterization of this publication is that "these people are part of the Socialist minded left and are the ones with which you would obviously want to have close relations with."

SCHNEIDERMAN described the "Monthly Review" as being circulated mainly on campuses and among professional people. Its point of view is "a sort of radical individualism." SCHNEIDERMAN indicated that the report that he was speaking of considered the "Monthly Review" to have a rather superior attitude toward labor as it does not see the role of labor as a decisive thing and therefore does not pay much attention to it. Its attitude toward the Soviet Union is friendly, but apparently it attacked the Soviet Union by publishing articles by a JOSHUA KUNITZ (PH).

SCHNEIDERMAN indicated that the "Monthly Review" has an attitude toward the Party which is sharply critical, but not red baiting. The publication has taken a strong position in the defense of civil liberties and includes the defense of Communists.

Concerning the "American Socialist", SCHNEIDERMAN spoke of it as a magazine published by a group that broke away from the SWP in January, 1954, (the Socialist Union of America), headed by a [REDACTED]. SCHNEIDERMAN advised that the line of this publication is to break the masses away from the Stalinists and to penetrate the left organizations. He indicated parenthetically that that is the line of the other Trotskyite movement. He indicated that it was the line of this group to infiltrate the Party and the left masses and separate them from the Stalinists and that their position regarding the Soviet Union is much more "skilled" than that of the SWP. He described it as anti-Sovietism and therefore does not appear to be so hostile to the Capitalists, but that is actually a matter of tactics.

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TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-84)
FROM: SAC, SF (100-30717)
RE: CP, USA - PARTY LINE

He indicated this publication takes a strong stand on economic issues and attacks the Party from the left.

SCHNEIDERMAN indicated that the report emphasized that the important thing about this group as differentiated from the others is that it has a trade union base. SCHNEIDERMAN indicated that in Detroit a large number of local officials of the United Auto Workers Union (UAW) get the magazine. He indicated that he did not know how they got it, but that it is reported on the desks of many local officials this magazine is found.

SCHNEIDERMAN indicated that the anti-Reuther forces (WALTER REUTHER, President, UAW) are those that are in the grouping around the "American Socialist." SCHNEIDERMAN indicated that the [] of the organization that publishes the magazine is [] (PH), a [] of EMIL MAZEY, active in the UAW. He further identified [] as the [] of the Michigan Committee against the [] Act (PH). He continued that he was told that there had been some united front in which the Party participated apparently with [].

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SCHNEIDERMAN indicated that there is an individual in Minneapolis who is head of the Progressive Party and who has written either letters or articles in the "National Guardian", who has supported the "American Socialist." He continued that the "American Socialist" has an ideological influence on the "Monthly Review" because these two publications exchange correspondence which is published by each.

SCHNEIDERMAN stated that these three publications (the "National Guardian", the "Monthly Review" and the "American Socialist") got in on the [] (PH) case and are pushing it. He added that what hit the CP most shockingly was what happened in regards to the Debs Centennial. He indicated that the three publications and I. L. STONES weekly got together and sponsored a Debs Centennial meeting and froze the CP out. He stated that

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TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-84)
FROM: SAC, SF (100-30717)
RE: CP, USA - PARTY LINE

the Party did not even know about the plans until they were publically announced. He stated that the "Daily Worker" then wrote a letter to the sponsoring committee asking for participation as another left publication, but that it was decided not to include the "Worker" because plans had progressed so far.

SCHNEIDERMAN indicated that they feel themselves to be organizations of the left without the CP and that they do not want to be identified and handicapped by the Party because the Party is identified in the public mind with a foreign power. Whether they believe it is or not is irrelative because in the public mind the Party is tied to a foreign power. SCHNEIDERMAN indicated that these groups feel that the CP has made a number of mistakes with which they do not want to be identified.

SCHNEIDERMAN expressed the opinion that it is clear that these people stepped into a vacuum which was created partly by our own errors and weaknesses when the Party was under attack and when their ability to function was considerably handicapped. He stated that in the report it was proposed that our policy should be in alignment with the "Monthly Review" and the "Guardian" and the forces around them.

When questioned SCHNEIDERMAN spoke of it as an alliance with the "Monthly Review" and the "Guardian" and that in regard to the "American Socialist" the Party approach should be to try to win the supporters away from the "American Socialist." He stated that the Party should strenghten their personal and political relations with the leaders and engage in personal and political discussions in the press with them. This appeared to be the feeling regarding the "National Guardian" as he continued by saying that in connection with the "Monthly Review" there is a need for political and ideological discussion. SCHNEIDERMAN felt that the Party is obliged to stop ignoring the existence of the "Monthly Review."

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-84)
FROM: SAC, SF (100-30717)
SUBJECT: CP, USA - PARTY LINE
IS - C

SCHNEIDERMAN pointed out that in regard to the "American Socialist" the Party position should be to reject the conscious Trotskyites. The Party should differentiate between those who are trade union leaders because trade unionists can not be denounced as Trotskyites, they must be considered as trade unionists keeping in mind they play as leaders of unions. SCHNEIDERMAN pointed out that the Party must try to develop a constant vigilance against Trotskyites and differentiate between those who are Trotskyites and those who are honest leaders sincerely interested in Socialism.

SCHNEIDERMAN reiterated that the Party must win away the supporters of the "American Socialist" who see the magazine as a supporter of Socialism and that this must be done in time for the 1956 elections.

SCHNEIDERMAN stated that GENE (DENNIS?) in his remarks said that the Party should add to the Socialist left certain national Socialist groups who have a long tradition on Socialism and also the youth groups. I gather he meant not only the Labor Youth League, but also the union people who have a curiosity and interest in Socialism, because it is a matter of interest in public discussion. SCHNEIDERMAN stated also "they should get to what he (DENNIS) called the 'individual non-Party Marxist' who for one reason or another are not in the Party." SCHNEIDERMAN recalled that he (DENNIS?) made a very strong point that the "American Socialist" should not be included in the same group with the other Socialist minded left.

SCHNEIDERMAN recalled that he (DENNIS?) sharpened up the point in the report about conducting an uncompromising struggle against them while at the same time influencing their followers. SCHNEIDERMAN felt that this group continues to be an official representative in this country of the world Trotskyite movement. SCHNEIDERMAN stated that he had no ready answers on how to extend Party influence into the

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-84)
FROM: SAC, SF (100-30717)
SUBJECT: CP, USA - PARTY LINE
IS - C

other left groups, but he was specific in stating that Party tactics have to be conducted in such a way that it is clear to the Party that we have not abandoned our uncompromising ideological opposition to Trotskyism.

It appears of interest that during the discussion at State Headquarters concerning the meeting in New York, SCHNEIDERMAN stated "I told FRED (FINE?) that he remembered two years ago when there was discussion in the Party of entering into coalition with the Socialists and that the reaction was for the Party to wait until the Socialists come to the Party."

Also during this discussion DOROTHY HEALY made the point that the registration figures of the Party will show that the great bulk of the current members have no knowledge of the Trotskyites and that the CP is going to have to start by making sure that it understands the Trotskyites.

At another time in this conference SCHNEIDERMAN spoke of the new Party policy as being aimed at re-establishing the leadership of the CP over the people of the left or the Socialist minded people that already exist including both the old-time Socialists and the people who are moving to open up a greater curiosity about Socialism.

F B I

Date: 3/7/56

Transmit the following message via TELETYPEURGENT

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

From SAC, NEW YORK

To: DIRECTOR, FBI

CP, USA - IS - C. DAYLET.

- 2 - Chicago RM
 - (1 - 134-46) (P&C)
 - (1 - 100-19841) (MAX WEISS) (INFO)
- 1 - Detroit (100-) (CARL WINTER) (INFO) RM
- 1 - New Haven (100-14795) [REDACTED] (INFO) RM
- 1 - Newark (100-2974) [REDACTED] (INFO) RM
- ① - New York (CP, USA-LINE) (100-95583) (#12-15)
- 1 - New York (100-81752) (CP, USA COMPROS) (#7-5)
- 1 - New York (100-86624-sub A) (CP, USA, International Relations - Daylet) (#12-14)
- 1 - New York (100-9365) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (#19)
- 1 - New York (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (#19)
- 1 - New York (100-19723) (JOHN GATES) (#7-5)
- 1 - New York (100-23825) (BENJAMIN DAVIS) (#19)
- 1 - New York (100-27539) (CARL WINTER) (#19)
- 1 - New York (100-66211) [REDACTED] (#7-5)
- 1 - New York (100-28609) [REDACTED] (#19)
- 1 - New York (100-89816) (FRED FINE) (#19)
- 1 - New York (100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON) (#19)
- 1 - New York (100-50806) (GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY) (#7-5)
- 1 - New York (100-23290) [REDACTED] (#12-14)
- 1 - New York (100-9573) (NEMMY SPARKS) (#19)
- 1 - New York (100-54899) (LEON WOFSY) (#12-14)
- 1 - New York (100-18672) (MAX WEISS) (#19)
- 1 - New York (100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (#19)
- 1 - New York (100-74560) (CP, USA Funds) (#19)
- 1 - New York (97-169) (Publishers New Press) (7-2)
- 1 - (66-6989) (P & C)

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ACB:RAA

NY 100-4931

(30)

1 - T. J. Mc Andrews

100-95583-2541

1 - ASAC D. E. Moore
1 - A [REDACTED] [REDACTED]
SEARCHED [REDACTED] INDEXED [REDACTED]
SERIALIZED [REDACTED] FILED [REDACTED]
MAR 8 1956
FBI-NEW YORK

CP, USA - IS - C. DAYLET. RE MY TEL MARCH SIXTH, FIFTY SIX.
CG FIVE EIGHT TWO FOUR S ADVISED TODAY THAT CP NATIONAL BOARD
MEETING ON MARCH SIXTH, FIFTY SIX, WAS ATTENDED BY SAME CP
FUNCTIONARIES WHO ATTENDED MEETING ON MARCH FIFTH, FIFTY SIX,
WITH EXCEPTION OF BEN DAVIS, WHO WAS SICK, CARL WINTER, WHO
HAD RETURNED TO DETROIT BEFORE MEETING, AND JACK STACHEL, WHOSE
ABSENCE WAS NOT EXPLAINED AT THE MEETING. DEBATE CONTINUED
THROUGHOUT THE DAY CONCERNING THE RECENT SOVIET CP CONGRESS.
MAIN PURPOSE WAS TO ANALYZE WHAT HAD BEEN SAID AT THE SAID
CONGRESS AND TO DETERMINE HOW TO APPLY "THE NEW LINE" IN THE CP,
USA. THE MEETING AS A GROUP ENDORSED THE ENTIRE "NEW LINE,"
STATING "THE RUSSIAN SYSTEM IS RIGHT AND WILL BE VICTORIOUS."
THE CP, USA TOOK CREDIT FOR HAVING AIDED THE RUSSIANS BY HAVING
STATED PREVIOUSLY THAT AMERICAN IMPERIALISM IS A THREAT TO THE
WORLD. REGARDING KHRUSCHEV'S STATEMENT THAT "CO-EXISTENCE IS
POSSIBLE AND WAR IS NOT INEVITABLE," THERE WAS SHARP CONTROVERSY.
IT WAS NOTED THAT BETWEEN NINETEEN FORTY SIX AND NINETEEN FORTY
EIGHT "SOME PEOPLE HERE," INCLUDING FOSTER, HAD FELT THAT WAR
IS INEVITABLE. IT WAS AGREED THAT SUCH OPINION IS ERRONEOUS.

- 2 -

THE MAJOR QUESTION BEFORE THE MEETING WAS WHETHER SOCIALISM CAN BE ACHIEVED WITHOUT FORCE AND VIOLENCE. THE MEETING BELIEVED KHRUSCHEV HAD ITALY AND FRANCE PARTICULARLY IN MIND WHEN HE MENTIONED THAT "CO-EXISTENCE IS POSSIBLE AND WAR IS NOT INEVITABLE." THE COMMUNIST PARTIES IN ITALY AND FRANCE ARE "CLOSEST TO POWER." TO ACHIEVE ULTIMATE SUCCESS, THESE COMMUNIST PARTIES MUST FORM A UNITED FRONT WITH SOCIALIST AND LIBERAL PARTIES. THIS COULD NOT BE EFFECTED HOWEVER IF THE ITALIAN AND FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTIES SHOULD ADVOCATE FORCE AND VIOLENCE. FOR THIS REASON RUSSIA WILL ALLOW THESE COMMUNIST PARTIES TO DISCARD THE THEORY OF FORCE AND VIOLENCE. A BIG ISSUE AROSE CONCERNING ALLEGED KHRUSCHEV REMARK THAT "IN SOME CAPITALISTIC COUNTRIES, PEOPLE MAY HAVE TO USE FORCE AND VIOLENCE." DENNIS TOOK POSITION THAT KHRUSCHEV INTENDED TO REFER TO USA IN THIS REMARK, AND CONSEQUENTLY HAD NOT INTENDED TO INCLUDE THE USA IN HIS OTHER STATEMENT THAT "CO-EXISTENCE IS POSSIBLE AND WAR IS NOT INEVITABLE." (WINTER HAD AGREED WITH DENNIS ON THIS POINT AT THE PREVIOUS MEETING.) THE MAJORITY AT THE MEETING VIGOROUSLY OPPOSED DENNIS' AND WINTER'S INTERPRETATION.

THEY STATED IT WOULD BE SUICIDE FOR THE CP, USA TO ADVOCATE ANYTHING BUT A PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM. THEY STATED FURTHER THAT CP, USA "WILL HAVE TO GET OUT AND SAY SO." THE OFFICIAL CP, USA LINE WILL BE THAT KHRUSCHEVS REMARKS APPLY TO THE USA. IT WAS ADMITTED THAT THERE MIGHT BE SOME CRITICISM OF THIS "PEACEFUL TRANSITION LINE" WHEN QUESTIONS ARE ASKED SUCH AS "WHAT ABOUT YOUR HELPERS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD WHO WANT TO OVERTHROW THEIR GOVERNMENTS?" THE CP, USA HEREAFTER WILL BE A LOUD-VOICED EXPONENT OF PACIFISM, OPPOSING VIOLENCE, AND WILL POINT TO THE FACT THAT LONG BEFORE THE RUSSIAN CONGRESS FOSTER, DURING THE COURSE OF THE CP TRIAL, STATED THE CP, USA IS OPPOSED TO FORCE AND VIOLENCE. (IT IS BELIEVED THAT HE WAS REFERRING TO THE FIRST CP TRIAL IN NY.) CONCERNING STALIN, THE CP, USA AGREES WITH THE RUSSIAN LEADERS THAT "STALIN HAD INJURED THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP AND DISTORTED THE CONCEPT OF INNER PARTY POSITION." THE CP, USA, HOWEVER, NOT DESIRING TO APPEAR TO BE "MOSCOW PUPPETS," WILL NOT BE THE FIRST TO ATTACK STALIN. THEY "CAN'T JUMP TOO FAST." THE CP, USA AT THIS MEETING ALSO TOOK CREDIT FOR IMPEDING US ACTIVITY IN THE KOREAN WAR, STATING THAT IT HAD DONE SO "BY MOBILIZING PEACE SENTIMENT" IN THE USA.

IN APRIL, FIFTY SIX, THERE WILL BE A PLENUM OF THE CP, USA NATIONAL COMMITTEE AT WHICH THE CP, USA PROGRAM ADOPTED IN NINETEEN FIFTY FOUR WILL BE CRITICIZED, AND MISTAKES THEREIN ADMITTED. UNTIL SUCH TIME NO ONE PRESENT AT INSTANT NATIONAL BOARD MEETING MAY REPORT TO ANYONE THAT THERE WAS DISAGREEMENT AT THE SAID MEETING CONCERNING THE INTERPRETATION OF THE "NEW LINE." TO THEIR INDIVIDUAL DISTRICT ORGANIZATIONS, THOSE AT INSTANT MEETING MAY QUOTE ONLY THE REPORT ON THE RUSSIAN CONGRESS AS PRESENTED BY MAX WEISS. BEFORE DENNIS SUBMITS A GENERAL REPORT TO THE APRIL PLENUM CONCERNING THE RUSSIAN CONGRESS AND THE AGENDA AT INSTANT NATIONAL BOARD MEETING, HE MUST SUBMIT IT TO THE NATIONAL BOARD FOR APPROVAL. TODAY AT THE MEETING OF EASTERN DISTRICT ORGANIZERS, SAID ORGANIZERS WILL BE GIVEN ONLY "THE RUSSIAN VIEW" AS EXPOUNDED BY THE SOVIET LEADERS. DENNIS IS VERY UPSET AS A RESULT OF HAVING BEEN VIGOROUSLY OPPOSED AT THE MEETING. DENNIS REQUESTED CG FIVE EIGHT TWO FOUR S TO GO TO TORONTO, CANADA, TO CONTACT [] CANADIAN CP LEADER, IMMEDIATELY UPON [] RETURN FROM ABROAD TO CANADA. DENNIS DESIRES TO ASCERTAIN FROM [] PERSONALLY WHAT HAPPENED AT THE SAID RUSSIAN CONGRESS.

KELLY

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b7c

3/21/56

AIR-TEL

AIRMAIL - REGISTERED

SAN FRANCISCO (100-30711)

DIRECTOR, FBI

CP, USA, PARTY LINE

IS - C;

DAYLET

SF 1125-S* on 3/20/56 provided the following information, originating at a meeting of the State Secretariat, CP, USA, District 13, on that date:

CP Party members in San Francisco are coming to the International Book Store demanding explanations about the Twentieth Party Congress, USSR. State Secretariat is anxious to get results of National Board discussion of the Twentieth Congress and expect to get it from [redacted] National Trade Union Director of the CP, presently in San Francisco.

WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN, Chairman of CP District 13, favors running an article by WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, apparently regarding the Twentieth Congress, "as soon as possible, at least in order to give some sort of line; of course, this would be just a stop-gap measure." SCHNEIDERMAN was referring to having article by FOSTER appear in "Daily People's World," and he revealed that he rejected a desire by "DPW" Board members to run series of articles by [redacted] of the "Daily Worker" on grounds that this series did not reflect an official view, but was merely an opinion in an effort to open the columns of the "Daily Worker" to a general discussion of the Twentieth Congress. SCHNEIDERMAN was opposed to having "DPW" similarly embroiled, admitting that "DPW" must print some letters, but they must separate or screen letters which draw parallel to the need for discussing the leadership of the CP, USA, in the same light as the Twentieth Congress discussed leadership of the CP in the Soviet Union. OLETA YATES, Chairman, San Francisco County CP, remarked that with some Party members there is presently a "spirit of rebellion for the sake of rebellion."

Regarding [redacted] articles appearing in the "Daily Worker," SCHNEIDERMAN referred to a letter by KING LARDNER printed in the "Daily Worker," in which LARDNER tried to compare the attacks on STALIN in the Twentieth Congress to the necessity for reviewing WILLIAM FOSTER's conduct as a leader of the CP, USA, as a result of the [redacted] articles. This sort of thing SCHNEIDERMAN desires to restrict. He observed that many people look upon a recent speech of LUCIEN LEMNIS as one which opens the possibility of re-evaluation of CP, USA, leadership in a way paralleling the evaluation made of leadership in the Soviet Union by the Twentieth Congress.

3-Bureau

1-New York; 1-Chicago; 1-Los Angeles; 1-San Diego; 1-Honolulu (ALB-A-100)
1-SF 100-30711*; 1-SF 100-31166 (DAYLET)

WJP:hko:S-1
(10)

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAR 23 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

100-95583-250

To Director, FBI
From SAC, SF (100-30711)
RE: CP, USA, PARTY LINE, TAYLOR

SCHNEIDERMAN desires to re-emphasize what he felt was an original evaluation of the Twentieth Congress, namely, that its existence illustrates the growing strength of the Soviet Union and the progress of the Socialist movement. SCHNEIDERMAN expressed the opinion that U. S. State Department instigated the emphasis on the attacks in the press on STALIN. He desires that it be pointed out in discussing the attacks on STALIN that despite his mistakes nothing impeded the growth of Socialism and the contribution to the drive for peace which was exemplified by the holding of the Twentieth Congress.

WHELAN

FBI RADIOGRAM

COM-10

SEC 1
SEC 2
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SEC 20

TO: BUREAU, NEW YORK AND CHICAGO
FROM: SAN FRANCISCO DEFERRED

DATE: 3/22/56

CP, USA, PARTY LINE, IS-C: DAYLET. SF ONE FOUR TWO FIVE DASH S
ASTERISK ADVISED ON MARCH TWENTY, FIFTYSIX THAT WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN
CHAIRMAN CP DISTRICT THIRTEEN, IN CONVERSATION WITH [REDACTED]
NATIONAL CP TRADE UNION DIRECTOR, STATED THAT THE PARTY IN CALIF.
NEEDS AN EVALUATION OF THE TWENTIETH CONGRESS AND ALSO A GUIDE
TO HOW THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE CP PROPOSES TO DISCUSS IT AND
THE PROBLEMS RAISED AS A RESULT OF THE TWENTIETH CONGRESS. [REDACTED]
PROTESTED THAT HE WAS NOT PREPARED TO GIVE A COMPLETE REPORT ON
THE CONGRESS AND EXPLAINED THAT THE NATIONAL LEADERS WERE ALL OUT OF
TOWN FOR THE WEEKEND BEFORE HE LEFT NEW YORK. SCHNEIDERMAN EXPRESSED
DISAPPOINTMENT TO LEARN THIS AND STATED THAT THE QUOTE DAILY PEOPLE'S
WORLD END QUOTE IS MOST IMPATIENT ABOUT HANDLING STORIES CONCERN-
ING THE TWENTIETH CONGRESS AND THAT HE, SCHNEIDERMAN, CAN NO LONGER
RESTRAIN THEM. SCHNEIDERMAN CONTINUED THAT HE EXPECTED [REDACTED] TO
BE ABLE TO TELL HIM QUOTE IF WE ARE SUPPOSED TO BE ON OUR OWN OUT
HERE IN DISCUSSING THE CONGRESS OR HAS THE NATIONAL CENTER DECIDED
A LINE ON IT QUESTION MARK UNQUOTE. SCHNEIDERMAN EXPRESSED HIS
POSITION REGARDING THE CONGRESS AS ONE WHICH WOULD PRESERVE THE
CONGRESS AS A GREAT HISTORIC EVENT IN THE GROWTH AND PROGRESS OF

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CODE WORK: AJM

OPERATOR: WHV

TOR:

TOD:

100-95583-256

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
1710M3/23/56	
FBI - NEW YORK	
3:00pm 3/23/56	

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

FBI RADIOGRAM

TO: _____
FROM: _____

DATE: _____

PAGE TWO

SOCIALISM AND TO NOT ALLOW A DIVERSION INTO THE OVERPLAYED ATTACKS ON STALIN. [] REITERATED THAT THE NATIONAL OFFICE HAD MADE NO DECISION ON ANY TREATMENT TO BE GIVEN THE TWENTIETH CONGRESS OR QUOTE THE SPEECH WHICH WE KNOW KHRUSHCHEV MADE IN THE EXECUTIVE SESSION UNQUOTE PERIOD. [] REVEALED THAT JUST AS HE LEFT NY THE PARTY HAD DECIDED THE COMPLETE TEXT IN GERMAN OF []'S STATEMENT AND HAD NOT FINISHED TRANSLATING IT. [] STATED THAT HE WOULD NOT TAKE A POSITION ON ANYTHING SO MOMENTOUS AND THAT ALL THAT SCHNEIDERMAN COULD DO AT THE PRESENT TIME WOULD BE TO SPECULATE. SCHNEIDERMAN REVEALED HE WAS UNDER PRESSURE FROM COMMUNISTS IN CALIF WHO ARE PRESSING FOR EXPLANATIONS OF THE STORIES THEY ARE READING IN THE COMMERCIAL PRESS AND ADMITTED THAT DESPITE THE OBVIOUS EXAGGERATIONS QUOTE THERE APPEARS TO BE MORE TRUTH AT THE BASIS OF THESE REPORTS THAN THERE USUALLY IS UNQUOTE.

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CODE WORK: _____

TOR: _____

OPERATOR: _____

TOD: _____

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT * OFFICE MEMORANDUM

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-79717) (12-14) DATE: 3/28/56
 FROM : SA [REDACTED]
 SUBJECT: CP, USA
 POLITICAL ACTIVITIES
 IS - C

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Identity of Source [REDACTED] who has
 furnished reliable
 information in the past
 (conceal)

Date and Description of Activity Meeting entitled, "The
 Meaning of the XX
 Congress CPSU," held
 at Yugoslav Hall, 3/23/56.

Date Contacted 3/24/56

- 1 - [REDACTED] (P&C) (12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-50806 [REDACTED] (7-5)
- 1 - NY 100-79967 [REDACTED] (19)
- 1 - NY 100-9308 [REDACTED] (12-16)
- 1 - NY 100-80640 (CP, USA NEGRO QUESTION) (12-14)
- 1 - NY 97-169 (PUBLISHER'S NEW PRESS, INC.) (7-2)
- 1 - NY 100-81752 (COMPROS) (7-5)
- 1 - NY 100-94768 (YUGOSLAV AMERICAN COOPERATIVE HOME) (18)
- 1 - NY 100-107419 (EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE) (7-2)
- 1 - NY 100-87211 (CP, USA FACTIONALISM) (12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-70535 [REDACTED] (12-14)
- ① - NY 100-95583 (CP LINE) (12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-106495 (FREEDOM OF PRESS COMMITTEE) (7-2)
- 1 - NY 100-37330 [REDACTED] (12-14)
- 1 - NY 100- [REDACTED] (LNU)) (W, F, 50's, 5'3", 150 lbs. white
 hair) (12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-107297 [REDACTED] (12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-68721 [REDACTED] (20-11)
- 1 - NY 100-68826 [REDACTED] (12-15)
- 1 - NY 100-128217 [REDACTED] (LNU)) (12-14)

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DR:cm1
 (20)

100-95583-257

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
APR 6 1956	

DR

Memo to SAC, NEW YORK
NY 100-79717

DATE: 3/28/56

Agent contacting SA [] (orally)

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b7C

File where located Instant

Informant identified the following individuals
as present at this meeting:

[]
[] (Section Organizer, Greenwich
Village CP Section)
[] (who advised [] the
Interscience Co. was attempting
to discharge him because of
long absence from work due to
illness)

b6
b7C
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[] Greenwich
Village CP Section)

[]
[] (LNU) (W, F, 50's, 5'3", 150 lbs., heavy,
white hair, dark complexion)
who was introduced to []
by [] who stated [] would
soon be a guest speaker at
informants CP club.

Informants oral report of this meeting
was forwarded to the Bureau by airtel, 3/25/56, which
reads as follows:

On the evening of 3/23/56, [] who
has furnished reliable information in the past, attended
a meeting entitled, "The Meaning of the XXth Congress,
CPSU." This meeting was held in the Main Hall of the
Yugoslav American Cooperative Home, Inc., 405 West
41st Street, NYC, and was allegedly sponsored by the
Manhattan Freedom of the Press Committee, although
[] determined at a meeting of the Greenwich
Village CP Section, held 3/14/56, that this was "an
all out meeting" for Party members.

b7D

Memo to SAC, NEW YORK
NY 100-79717

DATE: 3/28/56

[redacted] was contacted orally by SA [redacted] on 3/24/56, at which time she gave the account, set out below, of this open CP meeting (informant took extensive stenographic notes of pertinent portions of the major speeches, which she will transcribe and make available to the NYO):

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Informant arrived at the meeting at 8:30 p.m. and found the hall filled to capacity with many individuals standing. The balcony, with a legal capacity of 100, was also filled. Informant estimates total attendance at this meeting to be about 700.

The [redacted] of the meeting, [redacted] was making introductory comments as informant found a seat. [redacted] introduced BEN DAVIS (DVOSIN) as "the Chairman of the Manhattan CP."

DVOSIN, addressing the gathering as "Comrades and friends," stated the current press drive was lagging and we must get out and get subscriptions. He pointed out that in view of the interest in the recent Congress of the CPSU and the evaluation of the reports of the Congress, "The Worker" and "Daily Worker" should be easy to sell.

DVOSIN described a meeting to be held on the evening of 3/28/56 by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee as "a very important mass rally" and urged those assembled to attend.

The following resolution was read by DVOSIN and approved by the assembled gathering:

"That this body go on record as expressing concern regarding the present situation in the South and that the sense of this meeting be incorporated in a resolution to be sent to President EISENHOWER

Memo to SAC, NEW YORK
NY 100-79717

DATE: 3/28/56

urging presidential action, as well as federal intervention, and that a message of support be sent to the brave Negro and white supporters of the struggle in Montgomery, Alabama."

Informant commented that in her Party experience she has never seen so few Negroes represented at an enlarged CP open meeting of this type. [redacted] estimated there were less than 50 Negroes present and this turn out must be a matter of extreme concern to Party leaders.

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The principal speaker was introduced by [redacted] as "the [redacted] of the CP of NY, GEORGE BLAK" (CHARNEY)." Prior to this introduction, paper and pencils had been passed out to the audience for the purpose of inscribing questions resulting from CHARNEY'S speech that would be answered at the conclusion of the speech.

CHARNEY addressed the audience "Comrades and friends," and stated the XXth Congress of the CPSU has had a profound impact on the peoples of the Capitalist and Socialist worlds. It is too early to determine the real impact, which will be slow to take form, however, we should begin to evaluate the significance of the XXth Congress. CHARNEY stated the CP will spend much time in discussing the XXth Congress and "thrashing out" its full meaning.

CHARNEY stated his remarks would be based on the main report of Soviet First Secretary KHRUSHCHEV to the XXth Congress, CPSU, as well as published reports of Premier BULGANIN, ET AL. CHARNEY stated complete copies of these reports would be made available soon and commented the reports appeared in "For a Lasting Peace For A Peoples' Democracy" (Cominform English Language Publication).

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[] advised CHARNEY'S speech was then b7D
divided into four general topics and they are listed
as follows with highlight believed pertinent by
informant:

1. Reports of the XXth Congress, CPSU
and what they mean in terms of relationship of
Socialist and Capitalist world.

The Soviet Congress means there will be
more of a separation between world Communist Parties.
Parties will be more independent and stand more on
their own feet. The Soviet Congress has put an end
to the whole theory of the Comintern, although there
will now be a free interexchange among world
Communist Parties. The broad concept of Socialism
has been much more accepted in recent years throughout
the world. Each Party in each country has the
responsibility to evaluate the situation for itself
and to reject "dogmatism" and in our own Party we
must encourage the freest possible atmosphere to discuss
and criticize ideas.

The Soviet Union economically has advanced
far ahead of the US (CHARNEY quoted recent press reports
of Soviet economic progress). The US has passed
its peak of industrial power and is now losing world
markets.

The people of the US, and the American
press, are beginning to see Communism is not the real
danger but that the DULLES Foreign Policy is the real
threat of war. People are beginning to understand
the CP does not stand for force and violence in the
US and it never has.

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2. An estimate of the affect of the Soviet Congress on the present International situation.

There should be a shift in world opinion regarding the comparative merits of the Socialist and Capitalist system. The whole section of the report dealing with the advance in the struggle for peace was most inspiring and helped to confirm our own estimate of the role of American Imperialism in its drive for world domination.

3. The theoretical propositions discussed in the reports.

We see now that war is not inevitable and neutralist countries, particularly India, have emerged as great powers. We must be realistic when we say war is not inevitable - there was a sober approach to this question in the (Soviet) Congress. There is a possibility of war and a danger of war. We must continue and strengthen the peoples' struggle for peace, for this is the only guarantee of no war. We must transfer the unstable peace into a lasting peace.

There are new forms on the road to socialism. We now realize there can be a peaceful and parliamentary pass to socialism. We can be proud of the role of our own Party in developing our position for a peaceful constitutional pass to socialism - a theory developed in 1946 by DENNIS and FOSTER.

We must convert the US Congress from an instrument of bourgeois democracy to an instrument of people's socialism. We believe such a possibility

Memo to SAC, NEW YORK
NY 100-79717

DATE: 3/28/56

exists and we work for it - our Party plans to form a pure anti-monopoly coalition.

The whole meaning of KHRUSHCHEV was to examine the world for new forms of achieving socialism - forms not corresponding to forms developed elsewhere.

4. The position of STALIN.

The matter of STALIN'S evaluation in the light of the Soviet Congress has been most difficult and complex to the Party. The (US) Party's discussion has produced three trends:

1. Some blindly defend STALIN.
2. Some go to the extreme of devaluating him and
3. Some take the "balanced approach."

The "balanced view", not overlooking STALIN'S great achievement, but also not overlooking his serious weaknesses, has tentatively been agreed upon in Party discussions. There is no authoritative collective judgement as yet. In my own mind there is no doubt that great achievements will be historically associated with STALIN - especially in connection with building socialism in the Soviet Union - one of the greatest achievements of all time. It is one thing to recognize this but there may still be a tendency to underestimate STALIN'S errors - a full discussion is necessary. STALIN'S biggest weakness was lack of collective leadership.

Memo to SAC, NEW YORK
NY 100-79717

DATE: 3/28/56

• [] stated that CHARNEY'S speech ended at this point (10:40 P.M.) and questions were then received from the audience. It was necessary for informant to depart from the meeting at this point.

b7D

1/3/56

AIR - TEL

AIRMAIL - REGISTERED

SAN FRANCISCO (100-30717)

DIRECTOR, FBI

CP, USA, PARTY LINE

IS - C;

TAYLOR

SAC
DIV. 1
DIV. 2
DIV. 3
DIV. 4
SEC. 1
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SEC. 7
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SEC. 10
SEC. 11
SEC. 12 - 14
SEC. 13
SEC. 14
SEC. 15 b6
SEC. 16 b7C
SEC. 17
SEC. 18
SEC. 19
SEC. 20

CP 1125-S* advised that [redacted] CP National Trade Union Director, attended a meeting of the CP California Executive Board on 3/21/56, at which he discussed the 20th Congress of the U.S.S.R., as follows:

Many CP members have expressed dissatisfaction with the way the question of STALIN is being handled, particularly the lack of self-criticism on the part of those who were his closest associates over the last years. All "we" can say at the present time is that STALIN made contributions in the building of socialism in the Soviet Union, but there are certain indications that more serious questions are involved. In relation to the direct criticism of STALIN, it is obvious that the Party wasn't taken into confidence on any aspects of this question. Two things must be borne in mind in regard to STALIN which will develop in the next period:

1. "We" should participate in this discussion in not any way which would inhibit those comrades who are critical but to resume the discussion in such a way that it will not give grist to the mills of the imperialists and their continuing slanderous attacks on the Soviet Union.
2. The discussion of STALIN tends to beloud other aspects of the work of Communists, particularly on the fundamental questions of economy, peace, transition, etc.

The main burden of CP concern in regard to the fundamental lessons of the 20th Congress is a more detailed study of the application of these lessons to "our own problems" and to "our own experiences."

WILLIAM

3-Bureau

1-New York; 1-Los Angeles; 1-San Diego; 1-Honolulu (ALL AIR-REG)

1-SF 100-30717*

1-SF 100-34166 (TAYLOR)

1-SF 100-11625 [redacted]

WILLIAM:G-1

(10)

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100-95583-258

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
APR 5 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

SAC, NEW YORK

4/10/56

[REDACTED] SA (100-84275)(12-14)

WILLIAM PATTERSON
IS-C

Source: [REDACTED] (Protect by T symbol)
Reliability: Who has furnished reliable
information in the past.
Date of Activity: Report dated 3/9/56.
Date Received: 3/12/56.
Received By: SA [REDACTED]
Location: [REDACTED]

b6
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The information contained in this report
should not be disseminated outside of the Bureau
unless it is paraphrased.

The informant reported a conversation he had
with WILLIAM PATTERSON concerning the governments action
with respect to denying Social Security benefits in
certain instances to Communists.

1 [REDACTED] (P&C)(7-4)
1-NY 100-80636 (CP, USA LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES)(12-14)
1-NY 100-95583 (CP, USA LINE)(12-14)
1-NY 100-20128 (ALEXANDER BITTELMAN)(20-9)

b6
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APH:EEC
(5)

100-95583-259

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
APR 11 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

12-14
BTW

INFO → [REDACTED]

Report

William Patterson on question
of Social Security and convicted
Communists

March 9, 1956
New York

William Patterson told me that the question of the governments position on stopping the paying of social security to Communist party members is "a very serious thing. I believe that something should be done about the revoking of payments to Communists. This action by the government is a kind of vengence. It is not the money the government is interested in."

"The aim of the reactionaries is to instil fear in the people by cracking the whip of depriving people of social security if they dare to disagree with the imperialist policies of the administration. We must fight against this new Mc Carthy device as hard as we can."

Patterson said that he is now trying to work out a plan for a national movement to fight the taking away of social security from people "who paid for this insurance and who are entitled to get it where it's due to them."

Patterson told me that he is now working on the case of restoring the social security to the Bittelmans. He said that on the 7th of March there will be a meeting in Croton, NY, on the question of stopping paying social security to the Bittelmans; that at this meeting "We will try to organize a delegation to Washington to demand the restoration of social security payments to the Bittelmans."

"I believe that many delegations to Washington on the social security question will help a lot in this fight against the government. It would be of great help to have on such delegations all kindof people-not only progressives."

J. Morris

Att # 10 of 100-95583-259 *WKR*

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-)

4/10/56

SAC, NEW YORK (100-95583) (12-14)

COMMUNIST PARTY LINE
IS-C

On 3/23/56, [] who has furnished reliable information in the past, attended an open meeting entitled "The Meaning of the XX Congress CPSU" that was held at the Yugoslav American Cooperative Home, Inc., 405 West 41st Street, NYC. b7D

The principal speaker at this meeting was GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY who was introduced as "State Chairman of the Communist Party of New York." [] took almost verbatim stenographic notes of CHARNEY's speech and a Photostat of her transcription is attached herewith.

The original transcription of CHARNEY's speech as made available to SA [] on 3/30/56, may be located in [] as an attachment.

- 3 - Bureau
 - (2 - 100-) (CP Line) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-3-81) (CP-USA, International Relations) (RM)
- 1 - [] (P & C) (12-14)
- 1 - New York (100-86624) (CP-USA, International Relations) (12-14)
- 1 - New York (100-50806) (GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY) (12-14)
- 1 - New York (100-87211) (CP-USA, Factionalism) (12-14)
- ① - New York (100-95583) (12-14)

DR:cam
(8)

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100-95583-260

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
APR 10 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

March 23, 1956

State Chairman of Communist Party of New York, George Blake

Comrades and Friends:

The 20th Congress has had a profound impact on the peoples of the Capitalist and Socialist worlds. This has been reflected in the press of every country, including our own, the observations of diplomatic leaders, in the Congress of the U.S., by the comments of John Foster Dulles at the recent hearings, in many different ways. Perhaps it is best summed up in a comment that appeared in the Sunday Tribune of February 26 by one of their leading commentators, [redacted] who said, "The 20th Communist Party Congress in Moscow emerged as one of the most important development in 20 years....."

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It is difficult to determine what its impact has been on the life of the U.S. As far as I can judge, it is slow to take form. I would imagine that this impact will grow and give expression to some tangible trends in the near future. There is no doubt that it has had a profound effect on our Party and its members, and in wide circles of sympathizers. It will take some time, Comrades, to absorb the material of the 20th Congress, to learn from it. It will be a process that will extend over a period of time. I myself was somewhat dismayed when I was originally asked to speak at a meeting of functionaries in Manhattan. I have a very modest approach to presenting what views I will present tonight, and suggest that all we can do is begin to examine the material of the Congress and its results, analyze it as well as we can, and apply it as well as we can. No responsible person would undertake to rush to conclusions in connection with such a Congress as the 20th Congress. My observations are that, within the Party there has been a two-fold contradictory reaction.

On the one hand, Comrades have been impressed by the achievements registered at the Congress by the Soviet Union, by the successes scored in the struggle for peace. The new theoretical propositions that were discussed, the whole approach to break with all vestiges of dogmatism.

On the other hand, all of us have been profoundly agitated by the question of Stalin. Whoever says he hasn't is not honest or living in this world. This tended to obscure the other aspects, the main aspects of the Congress. The Capitalist press, especially the New York Times, and I understand we have one of its foremost representatives here tonight, have seized upon it to divert attention from the conclusions of the 20th Congress and what the 20th Congress represents in further advancing the struggle for peace and democracy and wellbeing of all peoples throughout the world. The New York Post has attacked the issue of Stalin for the purpose of creating demoralization among the left. I would say it is our function as Party members and leaders to set forth what views we can at this time on the question of Stalin, within the framework of the over-all discussion of the 20th Congress. Place the question of Stalin within clearer focus. Hence, I wish to deal as briefly as I possibly can with four questions tonight:

- (1) Relations of the Socialist and Capitalist worlds.
- (2) Estimate of the Congress on the present international situation.
- (3) Theoretical propositions discussed.
- (4) Stalin.

Rec'd
3/30/56
[redacted]

[redacted]

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I will base my remarks on the main report of Khrushchev as well as the published reports of Bulganin, ~~Mikhail~~ Kallinin, et al, and discussions of leaders of other Communist parties.

(1) On the relations of the Socialist and Capitalist worlds: The main feature was the crystallization of Socialism into a world picture. The new concept of two worlds is a mass reality. Before the war, 17% of the world's territory was Socialist; today, 25%. Before the war, 9% of the world's population was Socialist; now 35%. Before the war, 7% of the industrial production was under Socialism, today, 30%. It took 200 years for feudalism to establish its superiority over the slave system, and 150 years for Capitalism to establish its superiority over feudalism. In 35 years, Socialism is on the way to establishing its superiority over Capitalism. There is great historical significance in the five-year plans, the scientific achievement of the fifth 5-year plan and what is contemplated in the sixth. Based on comparisons with the U.S., on the basis of per capita production, we now see within our view in the next period of time the establishment of the superiority of the Socialist system in advancing the standard of living of the masses. This 5-year plan, the 5th, and the 6th, provide the material for the biggest shift in world relations, in favor of Socialism. It provides material foundation for strengthening the fight for peace and peaceful co-existence; for large-scale economic aid to industrialize the backward countries, and for improving political relations with France, Great Britain, and others.

In the analysis of the 20th Congress, the estimate was made that stabilization of Capitalism is not possible. Khrushchev analyzed the factors which delayed the development of crisis in the past period of time -- the great tendency on the part of the Capitalist nations, including U.S., to rely on the stimulants that cannot resolve a problem. The U.S. has passed its peak of industrial development, without the prospects of new markets. The crisis factor operating more strongly than ever before. No estimate of the ~~xxxxx~~ development of the crisis phenomena. We should assume this responsibility about the nature and development of American economy. In the past we underestimated the capacity of the bourgeoisie to maneuver. We must give a great deal more attention to it. We must renew our own positions. Must reexamine the thesis that increased purchasing power might delay development of crisis factors in America. What has been the reaction to this? Dulles, this astonishing man, made the estimate that the changes in policy presumably reflected in the 20th Congress stem from weaknesses of the Soviet Union. This estimate was challenged by everybody, beginning in the hearings that were held by Senators Fullbright, by Walter Lippmann, and leaders of government throughout the world. In fact this estimate has been ridiculed by the entire world. It is a continuation of the Hitler theory of World War II of Soviet weakness, the theory of containment based on the estimate of the ~~xxxxxxx~~ existence of sharp internal strains within the Soviet Union. This thesis, I think I can say categorically, is "caput". The conclusion is universal that the Soviet Union is much stronger than it ever was before. Besides, there is a new phenomenon--less apprehension, and fear, and mass curiosity and doubt on the relative strength of capitalism and socialism and what the outcome would be in competitive struggle. Salisbury had a major piece in the Times on March 4, and said many interesting things: Perhaps we have reached a crucible watershed beyond which our margin of superiority will diminish. This is an extraordinary admission.

Look Magazine said: "The equilibrium is not stable and is not in our favor". I think in this respect the impact on the American masses as these developments find greater reflection will grow. The relation to the growth of the standard of living--improvement of conditions of the masses in the Soviet Union -- 30% increase in real wages, 40% in the earnings of the family. The impact of new scientific achievements--cultural---sports---phenomenal advances in the field of automation. The Alsops spoke recently of the futility of the embargo policy pursued so rigidly by the U.S. He said crude oil production increased by 80% in Russia, 22% in the U.S.

I think, Comrades, that these developments in time will help the shift to the whole question of the comparative merits of the two systems, rather than a struggle between the east and the west, and if we guard against sectarian ~~and~~ approaches, I think we can say that there are new opportunities in ~~bringing~~ ~~the~~ ~~issues~~ ~~of~~ ~~socialism~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~masses~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~American~~ ~~people~~. Recently there was the experience of a Debs memorial meeting in Chicago where Norman Thomas spoke on the Smith Act -- 500 trade unionists were there, who, for the first time in 20 years, gathered at such a celebration to reassert their own identification with the ideas of socialism in the U.S. If this trend grows, it will be contended that it is a threat to the U.S. This is a miserable lie. What is needed is a change in foreign policy, disarmament, agreement to ban the bomb, and peaceful co-existence.

(2) Estimate of the international situation: This ~~whole~~ ~~section~~ ~~dealing~~ ~~with~~ ~~the~~ ~~advance~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~struggle~~ ~~for~~ ~~peace~~ ~~was~~ ~~most~~ ~~inspiring~~. Confirmed our own estimate of the role of American imperialism in its drive toward world domination. It is important to know how are our views which we have developed over the past, especially under the leadership of Comrade Foster, are in harmony with the views of the world movement and the views expressed at the 20th Congress. We have made errors in our approach. For example, in the thesis that war is inevitable. We must show that there is a war danger and that there is an alternative--in peaceful co-existence. We underestimated the contradictions within the bourgeoisie and ruling class in the U.S. and the growth of peace sentiment among the American masses. Especially new at the 20th Congress was the estimate of the peace camp itself. A new concept emerged here of a zone of peace as against the camp of peace that was referred to in the past. There is a zone of peace which embraces the neutralist states -- India, etc.-- and the forces for peace within the capitalist nations. What emerges is a new estimate of the role of these neutralist states---India is one of the great powers of the world. Combination of Socialist and neutralist states responsible for the shift in world relations. change of realignment within the UN itself. No longer dominated by the US as in the past. Also disintegration of the colonial system. In the last 10 years, 1,200,000 people, $\frac{1}{2}$ of the world's population, have liberated themselves from imperialism. Possibility of abolition of the colonial system even prior to the abolition of capitalism itself was projected. New paths of development in the future.

What is involved is the "battle for the uncommitted third". Wide areas of the capitalist class have more and more taken issue with the positions of Dulles and the administration, searching for new alternatives, fearful of the consequences of a war, increasing demand for revision of American foreign policy -- Walter Lippmann, for example.

(3) Theoretical propositions: Discussion of peaceful co-existence, non-inevitability of war, and new forms of paths to socialism--all grouped together. Grouped together in the public mind, too. There have been ambiguities in statement of Marxist leaders, including Stalin. The 20th Congress states that war is not inevitable---the theory has been evolving for a long time. Economic contradictions of capitalism generate danger of war, but a new situation exists, and we must revise our propositions. War is not only a result of applying economic functions; it is also something reached by decisions of governments. A new situation has resulted ~~and~~ from the strength of the USSR--augmented by the strength of the peoples' forces in capitalist countries. The peoples' forces are strong enough to stop war, although capitalism breeds war. Great contribution in advancing fight for peace, democracy and socialism. The knowledge that war is not inevitable is a great contribution to the fight for peace. A sober approach in the Congress---is there a possibility of war? There is. Is there a danger of war? There is. To continue and strengthen the peoples' struggle for peace -- this is the only guarantee of no war. We must transform the unstable peace into a lasting peace.

(4) One of the leading features is the new formulation of the road to socialism. We can be proud of the role of our own party in developing our position. Peaceful, constitutional path to socialism---developed in 1946 by Dennis and Foster --importance is recognized by the bourgeoisie. Generalization of the position of various parties throughout the world was enunciated by the Congress. The possibility of achieving socialism without civil war, without insurrection, a parliamentary, constitutional democratic path. Converting Congress from an instrument of bourgeois democracy into peoples' socialism. As part of this the defence of the Communist Party under the Smith Act is important. It is our aim to achieve peaceful ends, and believe that such a possibility exists, and we work for it. Our party plans to form a ~~pure anti-monopoly coalition~~ to investigate the possibility of peaceful roads. The "small print" in the report expresses doubt as to whether the bourgeoisie will allow this. The whole meaning of Krushchev was to examine the world for new forms, of achieving socialism, not corresponding to forms that developed elsewhere. There is no approach to socialism in the U.S. Not until sometime in the future. The class struggle will sharpen; it is sharp now. See what is happening in the south. There will be no ~~qualitative~~ qualitative advance without the defeat of the Dixiecrats. Sharpest struggles will take place long before the eve of socialism.

I am going to trial on April 9, and will answer all questions. Our new concept should help us build contacts. This has a bearing on our ability to develop new relationships and allies in the present period.

We would not only uphold the Bill of Rights, but do everything possible to expand it and to absorb the best of all American things into socialism. There would be no Smith Act under socialism. It is quite possible U.S. under socialism will have a group of parties, representing various interest, to share the responsibility of government in a coalition in which the party of the working class would be the leading party--not a party to dominate the coalition.

A united front -- a peoples' front---emphasis on the question of human rights -- a big lessons for us. Reflects major advance. At the Congress an important minority expressed ~~different~~ different views.

Differentiation has been developing as a result of the war drive and issue of colonialism. Dependence of capitalist countries on the U.S., and changes within socialist democracies. We should examine our experiences, and transform this experience in building coalition. A left trend is beginning to develop in the U.S. -- in the south and in the working class movement. We must search out the broadest basis of unity with all these forces. Must reexamine all relationships, break open new ground for building the united front.

(4) Stalin: This question is best understood within the framework of what happened at the Congress as a whole. This is the most difficult and perplexing aspect to us. Many of us were contemporaries in a way. I cannot evaluate it yet. It merits our attention and study. It does seem to me that the material basis for effective opposition by the enemy has been eliminated. Vigilance was essential, but there appeared to be indications that internal measures adopted went beyond the necessary requirements of security under Stalin. I.e., accusations against Jewish doctors, against Yugoslavia, etc. These were grist to the mill of the enemies of the Soviet Union. Marxism and democracy are not incompatible, they are harmonious. We move to socialism through democracy-- socialism is the highest form of democracy. No change in our estimation of the qualitative difference between democracy under socialism and democracy under capitalism. No exploitation where the people can determine their own destiny. The self-criticism of the Soviet Union does not and cannot exist under the capitalist democracy. I would like to see some self-criticism from our leaders here---on Korea, the south, and the Rosenbergs, and other questions like that.

All parties, including our own, are encouraged to reevaluate their positions, to draw lessons from the mistakes of the past. Will have to examine a whole series of policy questions---we plan a Party convention, I hope it will be scheduled soon. I think I can assure you of that. Our party accepted uncritically the glorification of Stalin---this was subjective, not scientific. We must reject dogmatism from our approach. Must encourage the freest possible atmosphere to discuss and criticize ideas. We must refute the charge of force and violence. A new attitude emerges.

We must make our own evaluation of the report on Stalin. We tend now to take three attitudes:

- (1) To defend Stalin against the criticisms of the 20th Congress.
- (2) To attack Stalin, to destroy the Stalin image.
- (3) A balanced approach. I believe that what will finally emerge is an estimate of great achievements and serious weaknesses. No authoritative collective judgment as yet. My view goes with the third trend, with modification. There is no doubt in my mind that great achievements will be historically associated with Stalin, especially related to the question of building socialism in the Soviet Union. One of the greatest achievements of all time. At the same time, it is one thing to have a balanced estimate of Stalin, but we still have to

wait to see what this estimate will be. But there may be a tendency to underestimate errors. It is being discussed now to achieve a rationalized and self-satisfying balanced judgment. We may be reluctant to face up to it, but we have no choice. The lack of collective leadership was very serious. The struggle against the cult of the individual already has had a beneficial effect. Put an end to the old theory of the Comintern. The independence of parties, but free relationship between them. A major criticism has been against the unfounded accusation of individuals---Beria---the concept of Stalin that the conflict would become sharper after the victory of socialism.

Motion--Ben Davis, Chairman of Manhattan Communist Party Organization:

This body go on record as expressing utmost concern regarding the present situation in the south, and that the sense of the meeting be incorporated in a resolution to be sent to Eisenhower urging presidential action as well as federal intervention and that a message of support be sent to the brave Negro and white supporters of the struggle in Montgomery, Alabama.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM *** UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-81)
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-18961)
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 4-9-56

Extreme care must be used in handling the following information. It is suggested that if this information is used in a report suitable for dissemination, that complete paraphrasing be used in order to protect the identity of the informant.

CG 5824-S, who has furnished reliable information in the past, made available to SA JOHN E. KEATING on March 26, 1956, for photostating, a letter written by LENA SCHERER on March 23, 1956. The following is the complete context of the photostatic copy of this letter, which is being maintained in Chicago file 100-27630-1A2. Material appearing in parenthesis consists of explanations by CG 5824-S and the Chicago Office.

"Your note came yesterday. Of course news on old man (JOSEPH STALIN) came as a shock to many people here too. However, I

- 3 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
 - (1 - 100-) (CP - USA, Line)
- 7 - New York (REGISTERED)
 - (1 - 100-86624) (CP - USA, International Relations)
 - (1 - 100-) (CP - USA, Line)
 - (1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART)
 - (1 - 100-9365) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (#19)
 - (1 - 100-14859) ()
 - (1 - 100-34665) (LENA SCHERER)
 - (1 - 100-5767) (MARCEL SCHERER)
- 5 - Chicago
 - (1 - A/134-46)
 - (1 - 100-8588) (MARCEL SCHERER)
 - (1 - 100-27630) (LENA SCHERER)
 - (1 - 100-20881) (CP - USA, Line)

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100-95583-261

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INFO7

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

think we talked too much before we knew all the facts, some are not here yet, and will not be open to us for a long time. I do not say we should not talk about it, but some of our writers did make fools of themselves (i.e. [redacted]).

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"One of our very close friends from Marcel's homeland (Rumania) is located in this city (New York City) at present. He is to work with his new Repr. to the United Nations and we talked much to him. He said some of the articles in DW were bad and made situation worse for us here. He felt that for the present Bill's (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) approach was the correct one. I must say he was quite sharp about some of the other material that appeared in paper. He also saw one of the big fellows from the big country (Russia) and he felt the same way. He put it this way - it will take us a long time to study and re-evaluate this period and the role of that individual (STALIN) and why this was allowed, etc. (CG 5824-S stated that in his opinion the Rumanian and Russian officials in the United States had no more information than Communist Party members in the United States at the time of KHRUSHCHEV's denunciation of STALIN and were being over-cautious in their remarks in order to protect their official positions, although their criticism that the United States Communists were talking too much was justified from their point of view.)

"Did you see the Shapiro dispatch from Moscow? It's the only sober picture thus far given by a bourg. writer who makes clear some of the problems. The way the lectures are handled in our city does not make me feel any better about all this.

"I know Phil (BART) cannot handle the problem of people (Party assignments). I saw the chap you suggested I see and he seemed bored when I talked to him. I know nothing will come of it. By now I really don't care. I cannot see myself working with such inhuman creatures.

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

"I am still job hunting. Marc is helping our new friends here so it helps him to forget his stinking job - we're making the best we can of a bad situation. Of course the penny-pinching existence has me down, but I am afraid there is nothing much I can do about it."

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK

DATE: 4/9/56

FROM: [REDACTED] SA (100-26603-C40)(20-10)

SUBJECT: CP, USA DISTRICT #2, BRONX COUNTY
IS-C

Source: [REDACTED] (protect by T symbol)
Reliability: Who has furnished reliable
information in the past.
Date of Activity: 2/13/56
Date Received: 2/23/56.
Received by: SA [REDACTED]
Location: [REDACTED]

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The information contained in this report should not be disseminated outside of the Bureau unless it is paraphrased.

The informant reported on a meeting of Bronx County CP functionaries held at the Hungarian Hall, Bronx, NY, on 2/13/56.

1- [REDACTED] (P&C)(7-4)
1-NY 100-82900 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1-NY 100-102126 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1-NY 100-120276 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1-NY 100-121854 [REDACTED] LNU (W, F, age 25, looks younger, 5' tall, 105 lbs., light complexion, light brown hair, lives in Kingsbridge Sect. of Bronx, CP Club organizer; per [REDACTED] (20-10)
1-NY 100-71163 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1-NY 100-107098 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1-NY 100-52710 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1-NY 100-93490 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1-NY 100-72693 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1-NY 100-12481 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1-NY 100-25880 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1-NY 100-63755 [REDACTED] (20-11)
1-NY 100-80635 (CP, USA JEWISH ACTIVITIES)(12-14)
1-NY 100-82062 (JEWISH LIFE)(7-2)
1-NY 100-95583 (CP, USA LINE)(12-14)
1-NY 100-86624 (CP, USA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)(12-14)
1-NY 100-107111 (NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO SECURE JUSTICE IN ROSENBERG CASE)(7-2)
1-NY [REDACTED] LNU, W, F, age 25-25, 5'3", 120 lbs., hair light brown, lives in Kingsbridge Sect. of Bronx, CP Club organizer, per [REDACTED] (20-10)

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APH:EEC
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100-95583-262
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SERIALIZED FILED
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FBI-NEW YORK

INFO

Report

Communist Party USA
Activities

Feb. 20, 1956
New York

A meeting of Bronx County Communist Party functionaries took place on Feb. 13th, 1956 at the Hungarian Hall, Southern Blvd. & 181 St., Bronx, NY.

Around the 53 Communists present I saw: [redacted]

[redacted] (wife of [redacted]) [redacted]
[redacted] and [redacted] resides at [redacted]
[redacted], Bronx, NY.

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[redacted] of the Bronx County CP opened the meeting. He introduced the speaker: [redacted], secretary of the Jewish Commission of the NY State Committee of the Communist Party."

[redacted]'s subject was the "Arab-Israel crisis." Before going into his talk he urged everyone to read "the highly important Marxist monthly, Jewish Life. Jewish Life reflects the Communist party's view point on Jewish questions, in general and on the present burning issue of the Arab-Israel Crisis. Jewish Life will be of special interest to those comrades who work for the Jewish mass organizations."

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[redacted]'s one hour talk on the "Arab-Israel crisis" consisted of the adopted Communist (National and international) line on this question.

He spoke of "American imperialism which is trying to establish military bases in the Middle East. Dulles is protecting the oil interest of American oil companies... Dulles is ready to sacrifice not only the 1½ million Jews of Israel, but also the 40 million Arabs for the oil of the middle East..

[redacted] is a flunky of American-English imperialism... The Israeli government is following the dictates of the American Zionists demanding a pact with Washington, -a pact aimed against the Soviet Union. There is no reason for the Soviet Union and the countries of the people's democracies to be friendly to Israel... Is there? But Israel, as any other nation, has a right to exist and to build its economy, its culture, Israel, as any other non socialist nation, has

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its capitalist class and its working class, Israel has its reactionaries and progressives. It is up to us, to the progressives to take away Israel from the reactionary-imperialist forces and lead the country into the camp of the peace-loving socialist world... The Soviet Union sees Israel as Israel is today, but the Soviet Union is seeking peace in the Middle East... This is the policy of the Soviet Union. Peace in the Middle East... The sale of arms to Egypt by Chechoslokaia can not be interpreted as an act aimed at the disturbing of peace in the Middle East... It is not an arms race... It is an act for peace... We must give aid and comfort to Egypt because Egypt is a neutralist country... Egypt is actively engaged in disrupting the Bagdad pact is another devise of Dulles aimed against the Soviet Union... Egypt deserves the friendly attitude shown to it by the Soviet Union..."

But what [] and the Communist Party is worried about is:

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"The arming of Israel is an important issue, as far as the masses are concerned... It is not the central issue... From one point of view it is the least important issue... But we must have an answer to it for the masses... Communists who work with the Jewish masses should lead in the demand of restricted arms for Israel... We are joining in demanding the sale of arms for Israel by the American government. This demand must be supplemented with the following 4 points:

1. Big 4 or UN negotiations on the Middle East crisis.
2. Long-range economic aid to Arabs and Jews.
3. Defensive arms for Israel and to make every effort for disarmament.
4. Arab-Israeli negotiations on the refugee and other questions but no dismemberment of Israel."

[redacted]
[redacted] and a few others participated in the discussion on "the report of Comrade [redacted]." All of the participants in the discussion agreed that "We badly needed a definite program...must of us, who work among the Jewish masses, just didn't have the answer to the many questions which are troubling the Jewish masses... Comrade [redacted]'s talk clarifies this important issue..." Only one- a woman- Communist expressed a doubt: "I work in a Haddasa organization and I doubt very much if my explanation to Haddasa members that the sale of arms to Egypt by Czechoslovakia was meant to bring peace in that area will make an impression. I still don't know the right answer to the question why did Czechoslovakia sell arms to Egypt? This question went unanswered at this meeting. (At other Communist meetings different Communist speakers had an answer to this question which ran something like this: the Soviet Union had to find a way to step in into the middle East. The sale of arms and other merchandise to Egypt provided this opportunity.)"

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After the meeting [redacted] introduced [redacted] to [redacted]; [redacted] this is [redacted]-one of our important civil rights fighters. Stick to him".

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Al invited [redacted] to come to the Steve Nelson house party on Feb. 19th. He promised to come. At this meeting [redacted] and [redacted] gave out 20 invitations to the Steve Nelson house party.

[redacted] brought to the meeting 10,000 leaflets announcing a concert by the Bronx Sobell Committee which will take place on March 10th. 1956 at Hunts Point Palace, Bronx, NY. [redacted] distributed the leaflets among the CP functionaries for distribution among the CP Clubs and in the Jewish communities.

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-J. Morris.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM * * * * UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-2398)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 4-12-56

Care should be used in handling the following information in order to protect the identity of the informant. CG 5824-S received this information from CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT. It is noted that this information will be known to a very limited number of persons in the Communist Party - USA at least until the end of April, 1956. It constitutes current thinking of the leadership of the Communist Party - USA but as yet is not current Communist Party policy.

CG 5824-S, who has furnished reliable information in the past, orally furnished this information to SA JOHN E. KEATING on April 10, 1956. The informant had received the information from CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, Chairman of the Illinois-Indiana Communist Party District and member of the National Board of the Communist Party - USA, on April 10, 1956. [redacted] of the Illinois-Indiana Communist Party District, was present during a portion of this discussion.

5 - Bureau (REGISTERED)

- (1 - 100-3-69)(CP - USA, Organization)
- (1 - 100-3-) (CP - USA, Line)
- (1 - 100-3-74)(CP - USA, Brief)

22 - New York (REGISTERED)

- (1 - 100-4931)(CP - USA)(#12-14)
- (1 - 100-81752)(CP - USA, Brief)
- (1 - 100-) (CP - USA, Line)
- (1 - 100-80641)(CP - USA, Organization)
- (1 - 100-80640)(CP - USA, Negro Question)
- (1 - 100-79717)(CP - USA, Political Activities)
- (1 - 100-89590)(CP - USA, Strategy in Industry)
- (1 - 100-96985)(CP - USA, Underground Operations)

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See la page for additional copies.

100-95583-263

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Ans.

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA

- (1 - 100-86624)(CP - USA, International Relations)
- (1 - 100-81338)(CP - USA, Security Measures)
- (1 - 100-87211)(CP - USA, Factionalism)
- (1 - 100-89691)(CP - USA, Domestic Administration Issues)
- (1 - 100-) (Progressive Party)
- (1 - 134-91)(NY 694-S)(Info)
- (1 - 100-23825)(BEN DAVIS, JR.)(#19)
- (1 - 100-8057)(EUGENE DENNIS)(#19)
- (1 - 100-89816)(FRED FINE)(#19)
- (1 - 100-9365)(WILLIAM Z. FOSTER)(#19)
- (1 - 100-19723)(JOHN GATES)(#7-5)
- (1 - 100-98699)(CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
- (1 - 100-18065)(JACK STACHEL)(#19)
- (1 - 100-66211)() (#7-5)
- 1 - Newark (100-2974)() (REGISTERED)
- 1 - San Francisco (100-) (CP - USA, Line)(Info)(REGISTERED)
- 1 - Los Angeles (100-) (CP - USA, Line)(Info)(REGISTERED)
- 15 - Chicago
 - (1 - A/134-46)
 - (1 - 61-867)(CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
 - (1 - 100-2748)()
 - (1 - 100-17965)(CP - USA, Brief)
 - (1 - 100-20881)(CP - USA, Line)
 - (1 - 100-18953)(CP - USA, Organization)
 - (1 - 100-18956)(CP - USA, Negro Question)
 - (1 - 100-17977)(CP - USA, Political Activities)
 - (1 - 100-19431)(CP - USA, Strategy in Industry)
 - (1 - 100-18961)(CP - USA, International Relations)
 - (1 - 100-18962)(CP - USA, Security Measures)
 - (1 - 100-18963)(CP - USA, Factionalism)
 - (1 - 100-19491)(CP - USA, Domestic Administration Issues)
 - (1 - 100-21222)(CP - USA, Underground Operations)

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DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA

Time, Type and
Place of Meeting

LIGHTFOOT stated that the National Board of the Communist Party - USA met in New York City on Sunday, April 8, 1956, and that this meeting was continued on the following day, Monday, April 9, 1956.

Persons in Attendance

LIGHTFOOT did not enumerate all the persons present at this meeting but during the course of the discussion mentioned the following persons who participated in this National Board meeting:

BEN DAVIS, JR.
EUGENE DENNIS
FRED FINE
WILLIAM Z. FOSTER
JOHN GATES
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
JACK STACHEL

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Agenda

LIGHTFOOT stated that there were two points on the agenda for this National Board meeting. The first point consisted of a report by EUGENE DENNIS, General Secretary of the Communist Party - USA, on the report he will give to the meeting of National Committee of the Communist Party - USA now scheduled to be held on April 27-28, 1956, in New York City. This report of DENNIS dealt with the new Communist Party program. The second point on the agenda was another discussion on the 20th Congress of the CPSU and was given by MAX WEISS. LIGHTFOOT commented that actually these two reports dove-tailed and complimented each other.

Friction Between FOSTER and
DENNIS, Supported by Other
National Board Members

LIGHTFOOT stated that the debate at the session held on April 8, 1956, was so sharp that those present almost threw chairs at each other. According to LIGHTFOOT, when EUGENE DENNIS

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concluded his report dealing with changes in the program of the Communist Party - USA, FOSTER lashed into DENNIS with a devastating attack. FOSTER accused DENNIS of being incapable of leadership and of ignoring the leadership in the Communist Party in this country during the past four or five years while DENNIS was in jail. FOSTER also accused DENNIS of leaving all the younger persons in the Communist Party, who have come to the fore in the leadership, out of consideration. LIGHTFOOT commented that it appeared that FOSTER expected to receive the support of LIGHTFOOT, WEISS, [] and FINE, who constituted a part of the operative leadership not only while they were in the underground but also openly after they returned from the underground and before DENNIS and some of the others were released from jail. Instead of this, everyone joined in the support of DENNIS and in lashing into FOSTER.

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LIGHTFOOT stated that MAX WEISS was brutal in his attack against FOSTER, and that JOHN GATES was one of the most outspoken in his criticism of FOSTER. GATES made a statement to the effect that he could not even correct a comma in one of FOSTER's articles without being criticized by FOSTER. LIGHTFOOT stated that while JACK STACHEL was lined up against FOSTER, that he tried to keep the discussion in a sort of balance and was able to keep things from going too far. According to LIGHTFOOT, BEN DAVIS was the only one present who remained more or less silent. LIGHTFOOT stated, however, that he thought that DAVIS was lined up with the majority. CG 5824-S commented, however, that if DAVIS follows the same pattern that he followed during the Browder crisis, he will wait to see which way the wind is blowing before he takes a stand for either side.

CG 5824-S further advised that LIGHTFOOT stated that FOSTER accused those present of wanting to "do a Stalin", on him, although everyone protested this was not so. LIGHTFOOT stated that FOSTER became so angry that those present feared that he might have a heart attack. He suddenly put on his hat and left the meeting with an "et tu Brutes" glance at those he thought would support him in his attack on DENNIS.

As will be pointed out later, FOSTER's attack on DENNIS stemmed from the fact that DENNIS, in reviewing the policy of the Communist Party - USA for the past ten years, stated that it is chiefly characterized as being Left sectarian. DENNIS made this analysis in order to justify a new Communist Party program; however, FOSTER takes this character-

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ization as a direct and personal attack against him and his leadership during this period.

CG 5824-S commented that DENNIS and his forces are not waging a personal fight against FOSTER, but are waging a fight to change Party policy in the United States. CG 5824-S stated that the rest of the Communist Party leadership will have to tolerate FOSTER. While FOSTER is an old man, is sectarian in his outlook, and resents criticism of his books and articles, he is the only leader in the Communist Party - USA who has some standing outside of the immediate ranks of the Communist Party and who has some moral influence on the majority of the leadership in the Communist Party - USA. His name also stands for the Communist Party not only in the United States, but internationally, so the rest of the leadership in the Communist Party - USA will be guided accordingly. On the other hand, the supporters of DENNIS also feel that FOSTER will not dare to challenge them openly. In fact, LIGHTFOOT stated that on the second day of this National Board meeting, FOSTER was more or less apologetic. FOSTER also realizes that the rank and file membership, as a result of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, can see errors in the program of the Communist Party - USA and could blame them or FOSTER if some corrections and changes are not made in this program.

Current Evaluation of the
20th Congress of the CPSU
by the Leadership of the
Communist Party - USA

The current evaluation of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, as given to CG 5824-S by LIGHTFOOT, is set forth at this point even though WEISS' report followed the report of DENNIS on the Party program. It is believed that changes will be made in the program of the Communist Party - USA, based on this analysis of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. CG 5824-S commented that this evaluation by the leadership of the Communist Party - USA was made after a re-study of the documents detailing the activities of the 20th Congress of the CPSU and also possibly from information received by the Communist Party - USA leadership from contacts either in the United Nations or in the Embassies of Russia and the satellite nations.

LIGHTFOOT stated that the leadership of the Communist Party - USA now believes that prior to STALIN's death there had

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been discussions of his methods and disagreement with them, although these differences never came out into the open for obvious reasons. By the time STALIN died, tactics had been worked out and were prepared to be placed into operation in order to correct the policies of STALIN which the present leadership of the CPSU claimed to be distortions of Marxism - Leninism which caused damage to the CPSU. It was also decided by the current Russian leaders that corrections should be made in policy in practice, instead of having a discussion or a public statement announcing a change in policy and also without a concrete discussion of STALIN's personality.

What proof is there that this was the method adopted by the present leadership of the CPSU? 1) Amnesty was granted to many people soon after STALIN's death; 2) Overtures were made to Yugoslavia not long after STALIN's death; and 3) The USSR encouraged "free discussion" in all fields of endeavor.

If this analysis by the leadership of the Communist Party - USA is correct, why didn't the Soviet leaders leave to history the detailing of STALIN's errors, the many purges, etc.? The leadership of the Communist Party - USA believes that after the leaders of the Soviet Union went to Yugoslavia and made their move for friendship with TITO, that public opinion, pressure inside the CPSU and Russian foreign policy made it necessary to follow through in other countries the change in policy and explanations which made overtures to Yugoslavia possible. Furthermore, the excuse that BERIA was the sole culprit responsible for erroneous Soviet policy was not enough, the next logical step was to place the blame on STALIN.

The leadership of the Communist Party - USA also asked itself the question, "Why didn't the USSR hold a public trial for BERIA?" Answering its own question, the Communist Party - USA leadership reasons that it would have been wrong to hold a public trial and make public disclosures concerning STALIN at the time BERIA was executed. Although at that time the present leadership of the Soviet Union was already putting a new line into practice, it was not as yet in a position to show any actual achievements resulting from this new line. Only when they were able to point to positive accomplishments and achievements were they in a position to make public disclosures concerning erroneous policies of STALIN.

The leadership of the Communist Party - USA has also asked itself why NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV made the second speech at

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the 20th Congress of the CPSU in which he fully denounced STALIN. Their answer is that KHRUSHCHEV was forced to do this by events which occurred. At the 20th Congress of the CPSU, NICOLAI BULGANIN, ANASTAS MIKOYAN and [] attacked the cult of the individual in their speeches even though they did not mention STALIN by name. The leadership of the Communist Party - USA believes that they did not act on their own; that is, that this attack on the cult of the individual had been planned by the leadership of the CPSU. Once this subject had been opened up, they found that it had to be carried all the way, thus, KHRUSHCHEV made his second speech in which he went into all the details concerning STALIN.

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Possible Changes in the
Program of the Communist
Party - USA

LIGHTFOOT stated that the discussions in the Soviet Union as a result of the 20th Congress of the CPSU are spilling over into the Communist Party - USA. As a result of this, the Communist Party - USA is compelled to review its political and tactical history going all the way back to its beginning in the United States, but with particular emphasis on the policy during the last ten years.

Slogan - Defend the USSR

LIGHTFOOT stated that the leadership of the Communist Party - USA has come to the conclusion that the slogan of the Communist Party - USA to defend the USSR was a correct policy in the early stages of the Communist Party - USA. It is now felt that this slogan is incorrect and that it has been incorrect for some period of time. The Communist Party - USA leadership states that too much emphasis was placed, by the American Party, on the statement by KARL MARX in the "Communist Manifesto" that the Proletariat has no fatherland. As a result, the Communist Party - USA has been guilty of national nihilism, in that it defended the USSR under all circumstances and at no time defended the policies of the United States.

The leadership of the Communist Party - USA now states that this policy may have been correct during the early stages of the Communist Party in this country, inasmuch as the Soviet Union was under attack and every Communist was expected to come to the support of the USSR; however, this support was carried

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too far beyond the period of civil war in Russia. It is also felt that the composition of the Communist Party - USA in its early days when it was made up chiefly of the foreign born, such as Slavs, or people who lived under Slavic regimes, Letts, Estonians, Slovaks, etc., made such a slogan possible. To say that the Communist Party - USA should defend Russia was not alien to a Party of this composition. Yet, a policy that was valid thirty years ago may not be valid at the present time.

Following of the Line
of the CPSU

LIGHTFOOT stated that the leadership of the Communist Party - USA will be self-critical in that in the past the leadership of the Communist Party in this country has not made a careful analysis to ascertain what is and what is not universal in Bolshevism, but instead accepted it in toto.

LIGHTFOOT stated that the leadership of the Communist Party - USA has also discussed whether or not it is necessary to establish Soviets after a revolution, inasmuch as Soviets are supposed to be the universal form of the dictatorship of the Proletariat. The opinion of the leadership of the Communist Party - USA at the present time is that as a result of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, Soviets are not necessary since there are many roads to Socialism and many forms of Socialist governments. This does not mean, however, that the Communist Party - USA denies that it is necessary to have a vanguard Communist Party made up of the working class. They say that even in China, even though the Communist Party did not become as prominent in the cities as it did in the rural areas, it was primarily composed of the working class. This is universal Communism; that is, the necessity for a vanguard Party of the working class.

With regard to the uncritical acceptance of policy from the Russians, the leadership of the Communist Party - USA states that this was necessary while the Comintern was in existence since at that time the Communist Party was a world Party. While this concept was relaxed to a certain extent after the 7th Congress of the Communist International, in practice the Communist Party was still a world Party.

LIGHTFOOT stated that as an example of the subservience of the American Party to foreign reaction, the Duclos letter was cited. The Communist Party - USA considered this to be

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international authority, that DUCLOS was speaking for the Comintern and the Russians, therefore, it superseded American authority and was accepted with no discussion with regard to whether or not it was correct policy for the United States.

Future Attitude of the
Communist Party - USA
to the USSR

What about the attitude of the American Communist to the USSR? LIGHTFOOT stated that the leadership of the Communist Party - USA has decided that while the USSR is the leading Socialist country and should be defended against the enemies of Socialism, in the future the leadership of the Communist Party - USA will decide its own policy based upon the facts. As an example, the leadership of the Communist Party - USA states that in a similar situation it would not do what it did on the eve of World War II, and state that "the Yanks are not coming", because this was supposed to have been an imperialist war until the Russians were attacked. If the Communist Party - USA leadership had reviewed the situation critically, it would have stated that if Poland and/or France were invaded, the main fire had to be directed against Germany. By the same token, the Communist Party - USA would no longer endorse something similar to the so-called non-aggression pact between HITLER and STALIN.

In a self-critical analysis the leadership of the Communist Party - USA believes that all of these things and this policy has hurt the Communist Party in the United States. It has separated the Communist Party from many of its friends because every move of the Soviets was endorsed by the American Party. The Communist Party - USA crossed every T and dotted every I of every Soviet statement, even if it was not in the interests of the American people. It was stated that friends of the Communist Party - USA, such as CORLISS LAMONT, I. F. STONE, Dr. W. E. B. DU BOIS and others, have been shocked by some of the antics of the American Communists.

Fight Against Dogmatism

LIGHTFOOT stated that on the basis of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, the program of the Communist Party - USA will be a fight against dogmatism.

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LIGHTFOOT also stated that it is the current opinion of the leadership of the Communist Party - USA that the Communist Party in the United States can learn more from the Communist Parties of France and Italy than from the CPSU, the Communist Party of China or the Communist Parties in other Eastern countries. The reason for this opinion is that the Italian and French Parties are dealing with contemporary Capitalism, while the Russians fought a Capitalistic system which was in existence a half a century ago.

CG 5824-S also stated that LIGHTFOOT said that the Communist Party - USA may also change its form of organization, especially in the shops, since the Party is still organized in accordance with forms of organization enumerated by LENIN in 1902.

CG 5824-S commented that while these thoughts are entering into the very sharp discussion on the new program for the Communist Party - USA, the leaders of the Communist Party in this country are faced with the problem of making changes along these lines without at the same time falling into the error of American exceptionalism or something contrary to the principles of Marxism - Leninism. CG 5824-S also commented that it has to be borne in mind that the principal leadership of the Communist Party - USA over the years, namely LOVESTONE, BROWDER and FOSTER, has been changed by virtue of foreign intervention.

Self-Critical Review of
the History of the Communist
Party - USA During the Past
Ten Years

As previously noted, LIGHTFOOT stated that DENNIS in his report stated that the outstanding characteristic of the Communist Party - USA during the last ten-year period has been Left sectarianism; therefore, the Communist Party - USA cannot state that the general line was correct during this period, although it can say that it was correct to a point. Mistakes were made and these mistakes were not of secondary importance. Furthermore, these mistakes cannot be excused on the basis of sharp attacks on the leading cadre of the Communist Party - USA by the "enemy"; that is, the United States Government. This is characterized as a subjective excuse and is not an adequate explanation. The fact that the Communist Party leadership was

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brave, that there were very few defections, that scores of the cadre were jailed does not excuse the errors which were made. Subjective factors helped to isolate the Communist Party - USA and they stem from the leadership and its incorrect tactics.

Strategy in Industry
During the Past Ten Years

As examples, LIGHTFOOT stated that the leadership of the Communist Party - USA now wonders if the re-constitution of the Communist Party in 1945 with the formation of shop units and concentration in the factories did not scare the trade union leadership in the United States which reacted in a manner which helped to isolate the Communist Party in the United States. The Communist Party leadership also wonders if it was wrong to have a split with PHILIP MURRAY and the CIO at the Portland Convention and in other meetings on the Marshall Plan. The Communist Party leadership states that it could have been critical of the Marshall Plan but not to the point of causing a split with the CIO. Since the leadership of the Communist Party - USA was responsible for this policy, it is also responsible for the isolation of the Communist Party from the trade union movement.

In further analyzing its policy toward the trade union movement during the past ten-year period, the Communist Party states that it has always been a minority even when it has had the support of allies. Yet, by attempting to dogmatically impose its program on the majority, there resulted a further isolation from the trade union movement which caused a break with the National Maritime Union, the Transport Workers Union, and also gave PHILIP MURRAY the excuse to kick the "Left led" unions out of the CIO. Furthermore, the Communist Party completely neglected the AFL, which also caused a further isolation of the Party from the trade union movement.

LIGHTFOOT stated that even recent history shows an incorrect policy toward the trade union movement. Some of the leading people in the Communist Party (namely, WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) said that the merger of the AFL and CIO, and also the merger of the independent unions of the "Left" into the mainstream of labor, would be wrong because the merged labor organization resulting therefrom would merely be an appendage of the United States State Department. This concept is considered erroneous and again illustrates the Left sectarianism which has characterized the Communist Party - USA during the past ten years.

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Policy on the Negro Question
During the Past Ten Years

LIGHTFOOT stated that in the discussion preparatory to the new program of the Communist Party - USA, a full discussion will be had on the Negro question, particularly in regard to the slogan of the right to self-determination and whether or not this slogan is correct for the United States at this time. LIGHTFOOT stated that this is another example of a Left sectarian error which will have to be removed in the new program of the Communist Party - USA.

Policy on International
Relations During the Past
Ten Years

CG 5824-S also advised that LIGHTFOOT stated that the policy with regard to the inevitability of war will also be re-evaluated. He stated that the American Communist Party leadership has shouted that war is inevitable between the East and the West. While it is difficult to find an American Communist Party document which states that war is inevitable, there was a well-developed political line. Examples of this can be cited. For example, in the Communist Party program, "The American Way to Jobs, Peace, Equal Rights and Democracy", it is stated that war can be stopped with the establishment of a people's government in the United States. Since there is no people's government in the United States, the logical inference is that there will be a war. Based on recent events with a lessening of international tensions, it is obvious that this is not a correct policy.

Policy on Domestic Adminis-
tration Issues During the
Past Ten Years

LIGHTFOOT also stated that the leadership of the Communist Party - USA has made a faulty economic analysis, since for many years it has predicted that an economic crisis would occur in the United States. Since this economic crisis has not been forthcoming, this policy is obviously wrong. As a result of this, the Communist Party - USA will develop an economic program for 1956 without attempting to forecast what will happen in 1957 or 1958.

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On the question of fascism in the United States, the Communist Party - USA has also been in error. In its program, "The American Way to Jobs, Peace, Equal Rights and Democracy", the Communist Party states that if American imperialism suffers some defeats abroad, there is a danger that there will be a fascist government in the United States. According to the leadership of the Communist Party - USA, the United States has suffered some defeats abroad, yet, there is no fascism in the United States. While there may be some threats of fascism, it is wrong to say that there are immediate threats of fascism. In further explaining this, the leadership of the Communist Party - USA states that the government apparatus is fascistic in its use of the Smith Act and the Internal Security Act of 1950, but the government and the Capitalist class cannot always carry through its plans because of the attitude of the majority of the people. This is evidenced by the fact that the people rebelled against Mc Carthyism.

The Communist Party leadership also states that the fascist Mc Carthyites received a setback with the help of the bourgeoisie and cite as an example the fact that the Republican Party censored MC CARTHY. The explanation for this by the Party is that Wall Street did not want a fascist regime, since they believed that they could continue to rule the United States through a bourgeoisie Democracy.

Some Conclusions of the
Communist Party Leadership
After Reviewing the Party
Policy for the Past Ten Years

LIGHTFOOT stated that the leadership of the Communist Party states that it had a dogmatic approach to war, fascism, the Negro question and economic crises; therefore, they made an incorrect analysis and had an incorrect program in regard to them. Since the analysis was wrong, the Party program of 1954 was also wrong. They tried to find the answers by stating that there were stages of development but since the original analysis was incorrect, all of these answers were also incorrect. For example, in the program of 1954 it was stated that it was necessary to elect a new administration which would defeat war and fascism. Under the stages of development theory, this new administration would evolve into a people's government and in turn the people's government would evolve into Socialism. This is regarded as a dogmatic approach, since the 1954 program

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was a contemporary program as opposed to a basic program. Therefore, in attempting to explain errors in this program by interjecting the issue of Socialism, the leadership brought about further confusion since it was alien to this type of program; that is, a contemporary program. The consequences of this type of dogmatism was to further isolate the Communist Party. In this connection, it is also felt that the Party's policy on the third Party or the Progressive Party was also erroneous since it was a part and parcel of the Left sectarian approach.

LIGHTFOOT also stated that privately the leadership of the Communist Party - USA now believes that it made a serious mistake in sending so many of the Party cadre into the underground. The question has also been asked whether it was worth the price to create the refugees. The leadership feels that, with particular regard to GIL GREEN, GUS HALL, HENRY WINSTON and ROBERT THOMPSON, this was necessary in order to guarantee the continuity of leadership and policy; however, this decision had nothing to do with the decision to send the majority of the Communist Party cadre into the underground.

With regard to security measures for individuals, the leadership of the Communist Party feels that security has to be tightened up and that security measures must be discussed and must be kept in mind at all times. While the Communist Party will fight for legality and for forms of legality, it will have to have security; therefore, some additional security measures will have to be devised.

LIGHTFOOT stated that the Communist Party leadership feels that the security of the Party is even a bigger problem and that the solution will be found only when they are able to forge links with the masses of people or the trade unions, or are able to establish a broad Socialist movement of which the Communist Party will be a component part.

The Communist Party feels that thousands, if not tens of thousands, of people would join a broad Socialist organization if they felt that they would be safe from repercussions and would not be ostracized. It is stated that even Socialists will have little to do with the Communist Party leadership at this time because of the latter's slavish obedience to the Soviet Union and to the lack of inner Party democracy. It is also felt that a Marxist - Socialist movement has to be built slowly

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and that it could not be built overnight even in the event of extreme necessity such as the upholding of the constitutionality of the Internal Security Act of 1950 by the United States Supreme Court.

Concluding Remarks by CG 5824-S

CG 5824-S stated that undoubtedly the new Communist Party program will be further discussed at the meeting of the National Committee and that DENNIS' report to the National Committee will be adopted. Soon thereafter the new Party program will be given to the membership in the Party for discussion, in order to permit them to think that they are participating in the changing of the program for the Communist Party - USA.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-2398)

SUBJECT: CP, USA
IS - C

DATE: 4-17-56

CG 5824-S, who has furnished reliable information in the past, made available to SA JOHN E. KEATING on April 16, 1956, for photostating; a typewritten letter on the letterhead of the Communist Party, USA, 101 West 16th Street, New York 11, New York. This letter is dated April 13, 1956, and is signed by FRED FINE. The letter deals with the enlarged National Committee meeting scheduled for April 28-30, 1956.

3 - Bureau (Encl.) (REGISTERED)

14 - New York (Encl.) (REGISTERED)

(1 - 100-4931) (CP, USA)

(1 - 100-80641) (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)

~~(1 - 100-) (CP, USA - LINE)~~

(1 - 100-81752) (CP, USA - BRIEF)

(1 - 100-86624) (CP, USA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)

(1 - 100-79717) (CP, USA - POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)

(1 - 100-89691) (CP, USA - DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES)

(1 - 100-80640) (CP, USA - NEGRO QUESTION)

(1 - 100-89590) (CP, USA - STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)

(1 - 100-9984) (AL BLUMBERG) (#7-5)

(1 - 100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (#19)

(1 - 100-89816) (FRED FINE) (#19)

(1 - 100-18672) (MAX WEISS) (#19)

(1 - 134-91) (NY 694-S) (Info.)

2 - Los Angeles (REGISTERED)

(1 - 100-) (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)

(1 - 100-) (CP, USA - POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)

3 - San Francisco (REGISTERED)

(1 - 100-) (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)

(1 - 100-) (CP, USA - POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)

(1 - 100-) (BILL SCHNEIDERMAN)

2 - San Diego (REGISTERED)

(1 - 100-) (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)

(1 - 100-) (CP, USA - POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)

3 - Chicago

(1 - A) 134-46)

(1 - 100-18953) (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)

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100 - 95583 - 364

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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APR 19 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

JEK:mks
(27)

DIRECTOR, FBI

Re: CP, USA
IS - C

One photostatic copy of this letter is being furnished herewith to the Bureau and one photostatic copy is being furnished to the New York Division. The Chicago copy is located in Chicago file 100-18952-1B3 (50).

The following is the complete text of this letter:

"Dear Comrade:

"The enlarged meeting of the National Committee will take place on April 28, 29 and 30 -- Saturday, Sunday and Monday. The meeting will open at 10:00 a.m. The main points on the agenda will be:

- "1) Report by our General Secretary, Gene Dennis, to be followed by general discussion.
- "2) Report: Lessons of the 20th Congress of the CPSU by Max Weiss.
- "3) The '56 Elections. Report by Al Blumberg; Special report on California, by Bill Schneiderman.
- "4) Proposals for a National Convention.

"The report of Gene Dennis will deal with an estimate of the present political situation and the beginning of a self-critical evaluation of the Party's work over the past decade. Among the questions to be raised for discussion will be:

"An examination of how we treated the war danger and the fascist danger over the past years. Did we properly assess the economic situation in our country and on a world scale? What were the errors in our electoral policy from 1948 on? Why has our political

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influence been lessened? What subjective factors contributed to the Party's isolation from the mass movements among the Negro people, and in the labor movement? Was there a left sectarian approach to United front tactics. Was our approach to labor unity correct? Did we make mistakes in approach to the question of trade union democracy and discipline? How does this relate to forms of Party organization in industry? How can we overcome our isolation.

"These and other basic questions will be placed for discussion at this coming National Committee meeting. We hope that this N.C. will open up a critical discussion on all levels of our Party organization.

"It is advisable that you come in the day before, or at least the evening before, so that we can start on time.

"Comradely yours,

"Fred Fine"

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603)(12-14)

DATE: 4/18/56

FROM: SA [REDACTED] (12-14)

SUBJECT: CP, USA DISTRICT #2
IS-C

Identity of Informant: [REDACTED]
Reliability: Has furnished reliable information in the past.
Date of Activity: 3/23/56
Date Received: 3/28/56
Received by: SA [REDACTED]
Location: [REDACTED]

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The informant furnished the attached verbatim report.

Care should be taken to protect the informant's identity in case any of this information is utilized in a report.

[REDACTED] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on 3/24/56 that the [REDACTED] of the meeting entitled "The Meaning of the XX Congress CPSU" was one [REDACTED] who made the introductory comments. It is believed that the [REDACTED] an unidentified negro as referred to by [REDACTED] is identical with [REDACTED].

- 1- [REDACTED] (P&C)(12-14)
- 1-NY 100-50805 (GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY)(7-5)
- 1-NY 100-94768 (YUGOSLAV AMERICAN HOME, INC.)(18-1)
- 1-NY 97-169 (PUBLISHER'S NEW PRESS, INC.)(7-2)
- 1-NY 100-9308 ([REDACTED])(12-16)
- 1-NY 100-23825 (BEN DAVIS (DVOSIN))(19)
- 1-NY 100-107419 (EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE)(7-2)
- 1-NY 100- [REDACTED] LNU, M, W, Puerto Rican, attended Coalition Strategy & Tactics, JSSS Fall '55 as per [REDACTED] 3/28/56)(7-6)
- 1-NY 100-86624 (CP, USA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)(12-14)
- 1-NY 100-79719 (CP, USA POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)(12-14)
- 1-NY 100-95583 (CP LINE)(12-14)
- 1-NY 100-26603-C42 (NY COUNTY CP)(12-14)

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EMA:EEC
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APR 18 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

INFO → [REDACTED] J/k

3-23-56

Speech by George Blake Charney on
The XX Convention of the CPSU
Yugoslav-American Home
405 W 41 St.

The meeting started shortly after 8:00; Al arrived at 8:30. Charney at that time was just finishing his introduction. His talk had four main divisions. He spoke from notes and emphasized that what he was about to say was his own thoughts on the convention.

His first topic was Capitalism versus Marxism. His views reiterated the doctrine of two systems opposed to each other. His second point was concerned with a denunciation of Imperialism. He herein covered the subjects of Colonialism and American Capitalism. Nothing radically new was contained in these two points.

His third subject was theoretical problems raised at the XX Congress. He herein discussed the topic of the inevitability of war in the fight against capitalism. Due to the unique type of Capitalism found in the United States, he agreed with the theory that war was not absolutely necessary for the establishment of Communism.

The topic in which the vast majority of the audience was interested was covered last, Stalin. He saw three approaches to this problem; a total devaluation of Stalin, a rebuttal of the anti-Stalin criticism and a continuing sanctification of Stalin, and, lastly, a mixed position. He here declared that what he was saying was a tentative opinion which would have to wait until Khrushchev's speech, delivered to the Congress in executive session on the cult of the individual, was published before his theory could be crystalized. He believed that a report of this speech was contained in the Sunday Worker, which unfortunately he had not yet had a chance to read. His view on the subject was that Stalin was a great man, with some faults. At this point he suggested that all branch and section leaders of the party should hold discussions on the subject. The thoughts presented at these meetings would then be presented to the soon-forthcoming convention of the CPUS. A murmur rippled through the audience expressing their surprise and pleasure at the announcement of this convention.

At several points during his talk Charney addressed the audience as "Comrades and friends". While questions were being collected from the audience the chairman, unidentified negro, introduced "the chairman of the Manhattan Communist Party Organization, Comrade Ben Davis". Davis thanked "Comrade George" for his presentation. Addressing the "Comrades" in the audience, he asked that discussions be held at the branch and section levels on the subject of Stalin; these points would then be presented at the convention of the CPUS. He then announced the rally at Carnegie Hall on the 28 on the Smith Act, asking all to be present. The questions having been collected, he turned the rostrum back to "Comrade Charney".

Charney announced that the audience, which numbered somewhere between 300 and 350, had submitted over a hundred questions. He then answered about half a dozen of these. All the questions dealt not with the bulk of the talk but with the subject of Stalin. They were of the nature, where were these collective leaders during Stalin's reign, Do we (CPUS) follow blindly what the CPSU and Moscow says, Where do American Communists go from here? The answers, probably keeping quiet, we have in the past but will be more independent in the future, and let's examine our position discuss the situation and distill our thoughts at the convention.

The meeting adjourned at about 10:30. Present in the assemblage were [redacted] (of Coalition class), a young supposed member of the LYL (also from Coalition class) and two other individuals who were in Coalition class during the fall term.

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Sidney

OFFICE MEMORANDUM • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C40)(20-10) DATE: 4/30/56

FROM : SA [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: CP, USA
DISTRICT #2
NY DIVISION
(BRONX COUNTY)
IS-C

SOURCE: [REDACTED] (Protect by
T. symbol)

RELIABILITY: Who has furnished reliable
information in the past.

b6
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b7D

DATE OF ACTIVITY: 3/1/56

DATE RECEIVED: 3/9/56

RECEIVED BY:

SA [REDACTED]

LOCATION: [REDACTED]

The information contained in this report should
not be disseminated outside of the Bureau unless it is
paraphrased.

- 1 - [REDACTED] (P&C)(7-4)
- 1 - 100-113164 [REDACTED] (20-10)
- 1 - 100-113156 [REDACTED] (20-10)
- 1 - 100-89402 [REDACTED] (LNU)(20-10)
- 1 - 100-75418 (SAM COHEN)(20-10)
- 1 - 100-83432 [REDACTED] (20-10)
- 1 - 100-120276 [REDACTED] (20-10)
- 1 - 100-123930-1 [REDACTED] (LNU), white; female; early 30's; dark
hair; dark complexion; 5'3"; resides [REDACTED]
[REDACTED], Bronx; CP member in Bronx per [REDACTED] (20-10)
- 1 - 100-95583 (CP, USA LINE)(12-14)
- 1 - 100-124262 [REDACTED] (LNU)(20-10)
- 1 - 100-9365 (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER)(20-10)
- 1 - 100-7767 [REDACTED] (20-10)

b6
b7C
b7D

HAPH:mcr
(13)

100-95583-266

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
APR 30 1956	
NEW YORK	

info - [REDACTED]

MEMO
NY 100-26603-C40

The informant reported on a meeting of the CP
Club of the North-West Section of the Bronx held on 3/1/56,
at the apartment of [] and []
Bronx, NY.

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C O P Y
- - - -

Report

Communist Party U.S.A.
Activities

March 6, 1956
New York

A meeting of the Communist Party Club of the North-West Section of the Bronx, N.Y. was held on March 1, 1956 at apart. of [] on [], Bronx, N.Y.

The following members of the C.P. Club were present at this meeting:

[] and [] Sam Cohen, []
[] and [] - recently transferred to the North-West Section. She resides at [], Bronx, N.Y., []
[] told me that [] is an old member of the party. Her husband is very active in party work somewhere else" - not in this section. [] is in the early 30's; dark hair; dark compl.; about 5.3.

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[] was [] of the meeting.

The first question of discussion was the appointment of a new Club Organizer.

[] told the meeting that she has to resign as Club Organizer because she is being assigned to "another party job" and will not be able to perform the duties of Club Organizer. (After the meeting [] told me that the Bronx County Committee wants her to be the County's educational director. For this job she will be instructed by the outgoing educational director of the Bronx County who was "temporarily assigned to this job by the State Committee (N.Y.) because the County (Bronx) didn't have an educational director")

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[] said that the Section Committee is "recommending" [] for the job of Club organizer and asked the meeting

100-95583-266 att 1

for approval. [] was approved by the meeting as recommended.

The next question was the question of "collective leadership."

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[] told the meeting: "I am sure that everyone of you read in the press about the Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. as you know the Central Committee of Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. reaffirmed the necessity of reestablishing collective leadership in the party. So from now on we got to adopt the same line. Collective leadership is the old policy of our party to which we are now returning. I believe it would be advisable to elect tonight a Club Collective leadership."

[] asked if the question of collective leadership was discussed by the section, or by higher party committees or it is her own interpretation of the question of following the policy of the Central Committee of the C.P. of the Soviet Union on collective leadership?

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[] answered that she doesn't know what stand "the higher party organs" took on this question. She believes "that the party leadership has a definite approach" to this question and that "it is quite possible that there are definite instruction on the question of collective leadership. The section (North-West Bronx) did discuss this question. It must have reached the section through the regular party channels otherwise there wouldn't have been a discussion of it in the section and the club organizers wouldn't have been instructed to raise it at the club meetings."

A short discussion followed. The participants in the discussion - [] - voiced their approval of the "idea of collective leadership" which will serve to "revitalize party activities."

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In connection with the above the meeting elected a "Collective Club leadership":

[] - Club organizer.
Sam Cohen - Literature director.
[] - Financial secretary.

[] (He was not present at meeting, but [] said that he will accept this job.

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[] at one time was educational director of the Mosholu Section (Bronx) C.P. - according to []

[] (he) - assistant Educ. director
[] and Civil rights.

[] reported that in connection with the assignment to collect food for the "starving Negro children in Mississippi" he and [] covered "two apartment houses on Valentine Ave. (Bronx, N.Y.) and we collected something like 125 cans of food. The tenants in these houses consist of Jews, Irish and Italians. The food was given willingly and no one asked whom or which organization we represent. The people were very sympathetic to us. I believe that we could try to use out these two houses for different things, especially in connection with the circulation campaign of the Daily Worker."

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Sam Cohen was asked to give this last remark his special attention.

[] told the meeting that because of the big demand for tickets for Foster's birthday party this section couldn't get more than 10 tickets (one table) and that there is only one ticket for this club. She said that she and [] got two tickets from different sources. The meeting agreed to give this ticket to [] (for \$2.00) as suggested by [].

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It was decided to hold the next meeting on March 13th, 1956 at []'s [], Bronx, N.Y.

J. Morris

CS 2-5-56

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO :SAC, NEW YORK (100-23825)

DATE: 4/30/56

FROM :SA [REDACTED] (#19)

b6
b7C

SUBJECT: BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, Jr.
IS-C; [REDACTED]; ISA 1950

Source:

NY 1745-S* (conceal and
paraphrase)

Characterization:

who is in a position to
furnish reliable infor-
mation

Date of Activity:

4/5/56

Date Received:

4/5/56

NY 1745-S*, on 4/5/56, furnished information which
indicated that BEN DAVIS was in contact with one [REDACTED] (possibly
[REDACTED]) and also with JIM (possibly JIM FORD).

JIM told BEN that he had seen the article in the
paper by MAX WEISS and asked if that was "a line" and said
"that's a [REDACTED] (ph) line."

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DAVIS agreed and said it was a little more developed
than [REDACTED] and "in the first place it has nothing to do
with us,...., with the cult of one man, its just a general
discussion about the party policy and line, and I (DAVIS) was
glad to see the "Pravda" editorial today raise h... about people
who are firing from all angles... under the guise of criticizing
the cult of individual you know the party's policies and
leadership and everything. That's long been my feelings about
some of the stuff in the "Daily."

- 1- NY (100-14214) [REDACTED] (#20-11)
- 1- NY (100-9364) (JAMES FORD) (#20-11)
- 1- NY (100-18672) (MAX WEISS) (#7-5)
- 1- NY (100-18677) [REDACTED] (#12-16)
- 1- NY (100-85788) (BILL TAYLOR) (#20-10)
- 1- NY (100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON) (#7-5)
- 1- NY (100-18673) [REDACTED] (#19)
- 1- NY (100-78800) [REDACTED] (#19)
- 1- NY (100-20649) [REDACTED] (#19)
- ①- NY (100-95583) (CP, USA Line) (#12-14)

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b7C

100-95583-267

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info

RER:mea
(11)

Memo

NY 100-23825

DAVIS further told JIM he had heard WEISS was going to have an article in the "Daily Worker" but did not know it was going to be this and that evidently it was not the end and would be continued tomorrow and "maybe he'll get to that STALIN (thing) tomorrow."

DAVIS stated it was only a general discussion about the line of the party and that "somebody just puts it out there, with no idea whether this is as yet a discussed or official line."

JIM agreed with DAVIS and indicated that since someone was the educational director, he was beginning to think this was the official line.

DAVIS related to JIM that he knew nothing about it but that it was permissible and said it was a speculative line in some respects and that some re-adjustments will have to be made in this general direction, but that to attempt to say positively and with certainty that this or that would be done that "it already begins to lay down another kind of doctrinism."

DAVIS asked JIM how the meeting was yesterday, 4/4/56, and JIM told him there were some interesting discussions but that there had been some differences and that [] (possibly [] []), was drafting something and would submit it to BEN.

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JIM said he agreed in some sort of modification for some sort of final opinion on the question of organization or reorganization.

JIM stated that [], had a different view point which accounted for his being so sharp in drafting something on which he [] also wanted a final opinion.

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b7C

Memo

NY 100-23825

DAVIS told JIM he would be unable to attend an affair the following evening, 4/6/56, at which he was to be the main speaker, due to his back condition. He stated he could not stand long enough to give a speech and that BILL TAYLOR was advising the people he, DAVIS, would not attend. DAVIS stated they had other speakers for the affair, mentioning GEORGE WATT and JACK (JAMES E. JACKSON) and others.

JIM told BEN to tell his [redacted], that he had put some names in the mail which she will get tomorrow morning and said she was to call some people.

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In connection with DAVIS' back condition, NY 1745-S* further reported on 4/5/56, that DAVIS has had a brace prepared for him by the Jack Schwartz Orthopedic Appliance Co.,

5-3-56

SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-140)(20-10)

MAY 1 1956

SA [REDACTED]

WITCH COURTY CP
IS - C

Source NY 1665-S* (conceal identity)

Reliability Who has furnished reliable information in the past.

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b7D

Date of Activity 4/6/56

Date Received 4/6/56

On 4/6/56, NY 1665-S* furnished the following information regarding activity which took place on that date.

[REDACTED] called [REDACTED] at EL 7-4160. [REDACTED] told [REDACTED] that he just got back and said he thought it was worth the tip. [REDACTED] asked [REDACTED] if he had heard from [REDACTED] (probably [REDACTED]) and [REDACTED] said he had. [REDACTED] said that was good and he just wanted to be sure that something had been worked out for tomorrow (4/7/56) and asked if [REDACTED] (possibly [REDACTED]) was in on it. [REDACTED] said no. [REDACTED] asked [REDACTED] if he was going tonight and [REDACTED] said he was going to put in a quick appearance and that he wanted to get there at 8:00 p.m. and leave at 8:30 p.m. [REDACTED] asked if [REDACTED] was going and [REDACTED] said that he did not think so as he ([REDACTED]) had something else to do.

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- 1 - NY 100-25880 [REDACTED] (20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-62900 [REDACTED] (20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-919 [REDACTED] (20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-53203 [REDACTED] (20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-13447 [REDACTED] (20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-51955 [REDACTED] (7-5)
- 1 - NY 100-17923 (JOHN GATES) (19)
- 1 - NY 100-24448 (LILLIAN GATES) (7-5)
- 1 - NY 100-95583 (CZ USA LINE) (12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-18672 (MAX WELES) (19)

REJ:taa
(11)

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100-95583-268

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[REDACTED]

MEMO
BY 100-26603-cho

[] told [] that he [] was the best known and to put in appearance and to make it a point to explain to [] (ph), (probably []) [] agreed to do this.

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[] asked [] what he thought of yesterday's discussion. [] indicated that he was very thrilled by it and [] said he was disappointed in the way MAX (believed to be MAX WILSON) answered some of the stuff and that he would have to go further than that. [] said that [] (probably []) did not agree with them and said there were a lot of things he would have to think through. [] said he thought LIL (possibly LIL CATES) and [] were very good and he wished JOHNNY (possibly JOHN CATES) had been there as he would have taken a different position than MAX did.

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An unknown man called [] and asked where he (D.S.) had been. [] told him that [] knew and said that he had been up in Connecticut all day "you know with one of those groups" and mentioned it was the "Sons of Murray (ph) Group."

The unknown man said he wanted to talk some things over with [] and said he had to go over to "that meeting." [] asked the unknown man to stop over as he was not going out.

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The unknown man asked if [] had heard from [] (probably []). [] said no and that he may have gone to the hospital.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

April 9, 1956

SAC, CHICAGO (100-10953)

COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
ORGANIZATION
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Care should be used in reporting the following information in order to protect the identity of the informant.

CG 5324-S, who has furnished reliable information in the past, orally advised SA JOHN E. KEATING on April 4, 1956, that he had learned from FRED FINE, Executive Secretary of the Communist Party - USA, that the national leadership of the Communist Party presently regrets that a decision had been made to postpone the holding of the National Convention of the Communist Party - USA. FINE stated that problems arising from the denunciation of JOSEPH STALIN are continually popping up and that the line should have been established for discussions within the Party ranks on this issue at a national convention. FINE did not indicate that a date has been set for a Party Convention.

FINE also told CG 5324-S that while the Communist Party will publicize the United States Supreme Court decision in the Steve Nelson State Sedition Act case as a victory, that actually the Party leadership feels that the Smith Act and possibly the Internal Security Act of 1950 may have been given further legality in view of the United States Supreme Court decision in the Steve Nelson case.

- 3 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-) (CP - USA, Line)
3 - New York (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-30641) (CP - USA, Organization)
(1 - 100-) (CP - USA, Line)
(1 - 100-32816) (FRED FINE) (19)
1 - Chicago
(1 - A/134-46)
(1 - 100-28381) (CP - USA, Line)
(1 - 100-13001) (FRED FINE)

JEM:W
(10)

INFO

100-95383-269

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INFO

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DIRECTOR, FBI (97-401)

4/20/56

SAC, NEW YORK (97-169)

PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS, INC.
IS-C

The attached is a report submitted on 4/6/56, to SA [redacted] by [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, and which reflects the current approach of the "Daily Worker" to the CPUSA Twentieth Congress. The original report is located in [redacted]

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b7D

2- Bureau (97-401)

b7D

- 1- [redacted]
- 1- NY 100-36624 (CPUSA-International Relations) (#12-14)
- 1- NY 100-95583 (CPUSA-Line) (#12-14)
- 1- NY 100-17923 (JOHN GATES) (#19)
- 1- NY 97-169

ECAsmsa
(7)

100-95583-270

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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APR 20 1956	
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[Signature]

A meeting of the "Daily Worker" staff was held on Friday, 3/6/56, from 11:30 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. Editor in Chief JAMES GATES reported on the Twentieth Congress of the CPUSA. He said that his knowledge of the Congress was limited to the published documents, and that important questions remained for Communists and Marxists, especially in the U.S.A.

GATES first discussed the policy of "peaceful transition to Socialism." He said that events of the past few years, particularly the Smith Act trials, had led the CPUSA to develop its own ideas of the possibility of "peaceful transition to Socialism." He continued, however, that Socialism is not the question in the United States today, but it is in educating the American people for Socialism, and in dealing with such immediate issues as civil rights and the Negro.

It appeared from GATES's comments that the CPUSA will utilize the Twentieth Congress to further advance the argument that it favors a "peaceful transition to Socialism!"

GATES then discussed the Stalin issue. He commented that this had been brought up at the end of the Congress, since otherwise they could not have dealt with other matters. He said that it appeared that the contents of Khrushchev's secret report on Stalin would be released probably a bit at a time.

GATES said the report had opened the widest discussion, and it was clear that the "errors of Stalin" were committed all over the world, including the USA. He cited the "cult of personality," and stressed the Stalin-Yugoslav break as a big mistake that split the Marxist front.

GATES termed the "extension of civil rights in the USSR" as an advancement towards Socialism.

GATES advised that he had no instructions to give the staff. He described the questions as being wide open, and he called for the widest type of criticism. He stated that criticism of Party leaders will no longer be suppressed.

Undoubtedly the gates are open for plenty of talk, and this is evidenced by the large number of letters being written to the "Daily Worker" by CP members.

att/100-95543-270

Some of the rank and file are questioning where these critics were when Stalin was alive, and asking "Why must we keep jumping on the USSR bandwagon all the time?" The general opinion of the top leadership appears to be, however, that a decisive break has been made with the past, and they seem quite happy about it in the possibility that legal and financial pressures on the Party will be lightened.

In any event, many Party members are putting themselves on record, and the Party will certainly gain the knowledge of which side of the fence various of its men stand.

4/24/56

AIRTEL

REGISTERED MAIL

NEWARK (100-4284)

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3)

CP, USA
IS - C

THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM THIS
INFORMANT MUST BE COMPLETELY PARAPHRASED SO AS TO FULLY
PROTECT THIS INFORMANT'S IDENTITY.

[redacted] was contacted on 4/23/56 by SAs RICHARD H. BLASSER, of the New York Office, and BRYAN F. JINNETT, JR., at which time he advised that he was contacted on Wednesday, April 18, by [redacted] CP Organizer for Mercer - Hunterdon Counties, New Jersey. The informant stated that [redacted]

5: Bureau (100-3) (REGISTERED MAIL)

(1 100-15716)

(1 100-

(CP, USA, INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)

8 New York

(REGISTERED MAIL)

(1 100-4931

(CP, USA)

(1 100-86621

(CP, USA, INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)

(1 100-

(CP, USA, LINE)

(1 100-

(CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)

(1 100-

(CP, USA, STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)

(1 100-

(1 100-

(PROGRESSIVE PARTY)

13 Newark (100-4284)

(1 100-4284-E (CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)

(1 100-4284-W (STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)

(1 100-4284-4M-1 (MERCER - HUNTERDON COUNTIES)

(1 100-4284-7S-1 (ESSEX COUNTY)

(1 100-4284-4Q-1 (OCEAN - MONMOUTH COUNTIES)

(1 100-4284-4P-1 (BERGEN - PASSAIC COUNTIES)

(1 100-4284-4N-1 (SOMERSET - MIDDLESEX COUNTIES)

(1 100-4284-4L-1 (CAMDEN)

(1 100-4284-7R-1 (VINELAND)

(1 100-4284-4R-1 (UNION)

(1 100-35401

BFJ:maj
(26)

100-95583-271

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INFO

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PAGE TWO

NEWARK (100-4284)

DIRECTOR, FBI

CP, USA
IS - C

advised him that he had just attended a discussion held in New York City, which was led by [] concerning the Soviet 20th Congress; further, that according to [] this conference or discussion was made up of persons holding positions similar to his.

According to the informant, [] stated that he is presently making a person-to-person canvass of the Party people within his territory to determine their opinions concerning this 20th Congress. Informant stated that [] indicated that in his area, there is great confusion, disillusionment, and extreme bitterness; further, that there are several comrades who will undoubtedly take this occasion to leave the Party. Informant stated that [] advised him that he was of the opinion, however, that these comrades had probably been looking for an excuse, and would grasp this opportunity.

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The informant stated that during this visit, [] made arrangements to use the informant's farm on May 13, 1956, in order to have a meeting made up of approximately 25 of the leading CP comrades of the Mercer -- Hunterdon County area for an all day discussion of this 20th Congress. This discussion would be held in order to clarify the questions raised by this 20th Congress; would go into the problems raised by this Congress; would attempt to soothe or appease upset feelings of the comrades. The informant remarked that this is a good example of the Party's problem on the lower levels today, and that it is occupying a great deal of the Party leaders' time.

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According to the informant, [] stated that the discussion group held in New York City attended by him

4/24/56

PAGE THREE

NEWARK (100-4284)

DIRECTOR, FBI

CP, USA
IS - C

concerned how to handle this type of discussion with rank and file members; how do we understand changes which have taken place, with [] commenting that this Congress will result in the most profound reorganization in thinking methods and organization of Communists in every country in the world. He stated, however, that only one action of the 20th Congress had received any attention, which was its re-evaluation of STALIN.

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According to the informant, [] stated that this Congress modified a number of basic Marxist and Communist principles of theory and philosophy. For one, historic attitude of Communists toward war between Socialist and Capitalist nations being inevitable has been modified to its not being inevitable; further, that Socialism may be achieved without the necessity of armed action or violent revolutionary means. Making this possible is the fact that the Soviet Union and its satellite nations have created a condition internationally today, which has greatly altered the relationship of world forces and the balance of military, diplomatic, and economic strength. Consequently, the Communist movements in non-Soviet countries can now receive assistance in their efforts of a type which was impossible in an earlier period. According to [], this Congress modified one of the basic precepts of STALIN, which was in turn based on MARX, that is, that to the extent Socialism in the U.S.S.R. and elsewhere grows and expands, to that extent the resistance of former ruling classes will intensify and become sharper. (This theory applied the policy of terrorism, brutal dictatorship, violence against democracy, etc.) The Congress altered this viewpoint and reversed it to its opposite, i.e., as Socialism grows and expands, the strength and fighting capacity of the former ruling classes declines and becomes less

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4/24/56

PAGE FOUR

NEWARK (100-4284)

DIRECTOR, FBI

CP, USA
IS - C

menacing to the Socialistic Order. Consequently, mass terrorism is unnecessary, greater internal democracy may be permitted, civil liberties may be allowed, etc.

The informant quoted [] as stating that the existence of this condition weakened the Soviet Union internally by persecuting its own people and weakened Communists throughout the world as being enemies of democratic rights and personal liberties. With justification, as a result, liberals and Socialists of non-Soviet type, working people, and numerous other segments of people turned violently away from support of the U.S.S.R. and world Communism; further, that this made impossible any likelihood of unity or collaboration with other anti-Capitalist and anti-Imperialist elements in other countries of the world, such as, TITO, The British Labor Party, The Second Socialist International, The Free Confederation of Labor Unions, and other world groups. Thus, a pre-condition for creating a national anti-Capitalist and anti-Imperialist movement, and finding a basis for unity and collaboration with these non-Communists by the anti-Capitalist and neutralist forces dictated the urgency of correcting this aspect of their tactics and thinking.

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The informant quoted [] as placing last the re-evaluation of the role of STALIN and the modification of STALIN's line and policy, which does not fit the present situation in the light of the foregoing. However, in re-evaluating STALIN, more than the foregoing has to be gone into.

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STALIN's diplomatic policy resulted in estrangement of nations and peoples from the U.S.S.R., wherein the U.S.S.R. departed from his basis as a democrat socialist nation and took on strong overtones of outright imperialist aggrandizement.

4/24/56

PAGE FIVE

NEWARK (100-4284)

DIRECTOR, FBI

CP, USA

IS - C

The informant quoted [] in this instance as having mentioned:

1. Forcing Finland to give up the Porkhala Naval Base.
2. Forcing Chinese to give up Port Arthur, which in []'s words was indefensible, in that it had nothing in common with pure Socialist policy.

According to the informant, [] implied that the causing of the Berlin Airlift was unnecessary and provocative as a result of STALIN's policy. [] mentioned that had this policy not been so provocative, the Korean War would not have taken place. Therefore, a basic step to rewin the confidence and respect of peoples of the world was necessary, in completely junking the form and character of STALIN's foreign policy.

(The informant specifically pointed out at this time that nothing whatsoever has been said, however, concerning the content and objectives of STALIN's foreign policy, which presumably would remain the same.)

According to [] STALIN's policy concerning the U.S.S.R. was correct in the beginning, but was carried on too long, e.g., a lack of democracy and a highly regimented and semi-military form of civil life destroyed initiative, created fear of responsibility, and showed up disastrously in factory production, managerial responsibility, agriculture, arts and sciences.

Arts and sciences were practically choked with no worthwhile book, novel, history, grammar, or poetry appearing in years. Most works produced have been hackneyed and trite, inasmuch as the artists were afraid of misplacing commas.

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NEWARK (100-4284)

DIRECTOR, FBI

CP, USA

IS - C

Normal flowering of art and culture was stultified.

In science, great gains have been made, but only because scientists somehow got around restrictions placed upon them.

Agriculture was at a point of almost disintegration, because of constant tinkering by ignoramuses, who pursued unscientific, unsound, and completely wrong theories of biology, genetics, and plant pathology.

The military was greatly weakened and became nothing more than a house organ of STALIN's personally selected people, military worth notwithstanding. The purges of the military in 1937 and 1939, which executed nearly 10,000 of the Officer Corps of the Red Army, left the nation practically leaderless, in a military sense, right on the advent of war.

According to the informant, [] stated that Marshal TUKHACHEVSKY was executed on the basis of what appeared to be valid charges of collaboration with the Germans, but what was not known or recognized at the time was that this evidence had been planted by the Germans themselves, so that the Soviets would find it.

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Finally, STALIN completed abrogation of internal CP democracy, of criticism, self-criticism, and the like. Criticism was equated with treason. Internal democracy disappeared and the Party took on a semi-military character in order giving and obedience.

This, in turn, destroyed initiative, enthusiasm, responsiveness, and created fear among the membership.

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NEWARK (100-4284)

DIRECTOR, FBI

CP, USA
IS - C

At this point, [] pointed out that from 1938 to 1953, no Soviet Congress of the Party was held, during which the Soviet Party worked aimlessly without plan or guidance.

As to exactly how this happened, the informant stated that [] gave a long explanation which did not vary from the explanations given by WILLIAM Z. FOSTER in his three recent articles; further, that STALIN could do this, according to [], because of pressures which the U.S.S.R. faced from its inception, externally with war and civil war, and internally with the fight to overcome remnants of old ruling classes and efforts to build industry under the Five Year Plan.

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This situation created an atmosphere where the Party and the nation lived through a semi-military existence, where order giving was the rule with little time available for discussion; where unity was paramount, and when if one felt inclined to criticize, there would be self-restraint due to the urgent atmosphere prevailing. In this situation, Party democracy disappeared bit by bit with one man rule commencing to take form at the top and throughout the country, bringing in its path all the mistakes and weaknesses earlier mentioned.

For other COMMUNIST PARTIES in the world, this also had a retrogressive effect. The same departure from internal democracy, collective leadership, criticism, and self-criticism, and the creation of cults around little TALINS in other countries commenced to take form.

More serious was that these Parties lost their independence of thinking; lost their initiative and their ability to politically examine and appraise problems in the light of their own nation's interests, and the interests of the people of their country. These Parties became simply

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NEWARK (100-4284)

DIRECTOR, FBI

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IS - C

parrots in repeating the line and policy of STALIN and every statement he issued. The Parties would mechanically try to find application to their own country of things STALIN indicated for the U.S.S.R., even where no such basis existed. (According to [redacted], this certainly shows that the CP, USA, has been a stooge of the U.S.S.R. all along.)

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The informant quoted [redacted] as stating that while we in America had qualms on many occasions concerning certain problems and evils, we kept quiet, kept peace, and said nothing. We did all this because of an impression that the U.S.S.R. was being lied about; that they had good reasons for what they were doing and rather than denounce them, it was our job to defend. We now see that we were wrong. We were wrong to try to apply Soviet policy in the United States with no basis for the same. We were wrong to try to attune our Party to every decision and turn of the Soviet Party. We were wrong in attempting to mechanically transpose Soviet experiences and form of Socialism to our country, whose history and traditions would require a different form. The effect of all this on the CP, USA, has been disastrous.

According to the informant, [redacted] stated that it is doubtful if the pressures of the last 10 years of cold war which caused so much damage to the CP, USA, would have happened if it had stood on its own feet as an American CP; further that had the CP, USA, acted differently, [redacted] stated that he doubted that the leftist Communist trade unions would have been expelled from the CIO, and implied that this expulsion was due to the CP's provocation. Informant stated that [redacted] noted that certainly the formation of the PROGRESSIVE PARTY was an outright mistake, and the way that the Party has been working for the past five years (underground) was unnecessary and at least adventurous.

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NEWARK (100-4284)

DIRECTOR, FBI

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IS - C

[] indicated, according to the informant, that when the Trotskyites were on trial in Minnesota during the early 1940's, the Party made a criminal mistake in actually helping to convict them, while it should have known that the CP, USA, would be next on the list; further, that the policy of the CP, USA, toward the Nisei during World War II was criminal in that it condoned the placing of the Nisei in concentration camps, etc., because the Soviet Union was at war and her needs were paramount.

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The informant stated that, according to [] the Party has not been thinking of its own road to Socialism for America, which it must do now; further, that he indicated that this free-wheeling discussion within the Party is going to be a vast discussion. According to the informant, [] stated that he did not see how we could avoid having a convention toward the end of the year after this free-wheeling discussion period has become finalized, in order to write an entirely new program for the CP, USA; further, that many discussions are starting now at various levels of the Party, which up to date have been more or less haphazard, inasmuch as all materials are not available, and the top Party leadership seems to be pretty foggy on some of the questions.

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[] advised that in view of the above, the Party's main move would appear to be that it plans to concentrate on the United Front Tactic, which in his opinion, means that the Party will become more dangerous, as it attempts to ally itself with Socialists, liberals, etc.

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The informant stated that, in his opinion, the above information received from [] was that disseminated by NEMMY SPARKS, and that it is the result of discussions among the top leadership of the Party to date. The informant

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NEWARK (100-4284)

DIRECTOR, FBI

CP, USA
IS - C

stated that it is obvious that these discussions up to now are fragmentary, and this entire proposition is merely preliminary discussion; further, that as these discussions progress in the future, things mentioned above may be modified, but he doubts it.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C1879) (#12-14) MAY 4 1956

FROM : SA [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: GREENWICH VILLAGE SECTION
NY COUNTY CP
IS - Cb6
b7C
b7DIdentity of Source [REDACTED] who has furnished
reliable information in the past.
(conceal)Date and description Meeting of Greenwich Village CP
of activity Section, 4/11/56.

- 1 - [REDACTED] (P & C) (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-26603 (CP - NY STATE) (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-128217 (YALE) (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-37330 [REDACTED] (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-111587 [REDACTED] (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-18677 [REDACTED] (#12-16)
- 1 - NY 100-89611 [REDACTED] (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-128228 [REDACTED] (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-111587 [REDACTED] (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-124912 [REDACTED] (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-73828 [REDACTED] (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-105346 [REDACTED] (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-128223 [REDACTED] (TNU) (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100- [REDACTED] (TNU) (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-86066 [REDACTED] (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100- [REDACTED] (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-128243 [REDACTED] (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100- [REDACTED] (LNU) (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-26603-C42 (CP NY COUNTY) (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-128225 [REDACTED] (LNU) (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-13019 [REDACTED] (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100- [REDACTED] (LNU) (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-80641 (CP - USA, ORGANIZATION) (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-74560 (CP - US FUNDS) (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-128314 (CP - DIST. #2, FUNDS) (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-95583 (CP LINE) (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-86624 (CP INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 97-169 (PUBLISHER'S NEW PRESS, INC.) (#7-2)
- 1 - NY 100-26603-C1880 (AJP CLUB, GREENWICH VILLAGE CP) (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-26603-C1881 (PTA CLUB, GREENWICH VILLAGE CP) (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-26603-C1869 (CP CLUB, [REDACTED] BY [REDACTED] (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-26603-C1879

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100-95583-273

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 4 1956	
FBI-NEW YORK	

#19

DR:cmd
(32)

MEMO

NY 100-26603-C1879

Agents Contacting: SAS ROBERT J. DOLAN AND [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] (oral)

Date contacted 4/13/56

File where located Agent's notes, initialed by
informant, may be located as an
attachment to [REDACTED].

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On the evening of 4/11/56, a meeting of the
Greenwich Village Section of the NY County CP, was held at
53 Barrow Street, NYC. [REDACTED] identified the following
individuals as present at this CP meeting:

1. [REDACTED] Section Organizer
2. [REDACTED] Section Press Director
3. [REDACTED] Section Membership-Financial Director
4. [REDACTED] Guest speaker, who [REDACTED]
felt was a NY State CP
official.
5. [REDACTED] Section Member
6. [REDACTED] A Club Organizer of the Greenwich Village
Section.
7. [REDACTED] a guest at the Section meeting.
8. [REDACTED] a Section member, who commented
during the meeting that he had been
a CP member for 18 years.
9. [REDACTED] Club Organizer of the PTA Club of the
Greenwich Village CP.
10. [REDACTED] a Club Organizer of the Greenwich
Village Section
11. [REDACTED] a Club Organizer of the Greenwich
Village CP Section.
12. [REDACTED] (LNU) a Club Organizer of the Greenwich Village
CP Section

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MEMO

NY 100-26603-C1879

13. [] (LNU), who was a guest at the Section meeting. [] described [] as white, male, 38 years old, 5'8", 160 lbs., light brown hair, sharp blue eyes, wears "sharp shoes", employed as an electrician, and apparently a very active CP member.
14. [] whose status with the Section was unknown to [] Informant determined [] resided in [] [], NYC.
15. [] Club Organizer of the ALP Club of the Greenwich Village CP Section
16. [] (LNU), a rank-and-file CP member, who was a guest at the Section meeting. [] described her as white, Female, 5'4", 130 lbs., 35 years old, dark brown hair, single.

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Fund Drive

[] announced the following quotas for this year's Fund Drive for the Greenwich Village CP:

[]'s Club (ALP Club)	\$1000.00
[]'s Club	1025.00
[]'s Club	1235.00
[]'s Club	720.00
[]'s Club	825.00
[]'s Club (PTA Club)	800.00
[]'s Club	740.00
[]'s Club	600.00
The "new" Club	1200.00
[]'s Club (Greek Club)	400.00
Greenwich Village Section Quota	\$8,545.00

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It was stated that individual Fund Drive quotas this year would be based on the amount assessed a member in 1955 and/or an amount equal to a member's weekly salary plus 10%.

MEMO

NY 100-26603-C1879

[] stated the Section Fund quota was slightly lower than in 1955, because the Section had been reorganized and because people had moved. He also commented that any money contributed to "The Worker" could be credited to a member's Fund Drive Quota.

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It was stated the Section desired 30% of the Fund Drive quota in by May 1st, 50% in by May 15th, and 100% in by the conclusion of the Fund Drive on 6/16/56.

[] (INU) announced that if any CP members had TV repairs, and they gave their business to the Television Store at 252½ Bleecker St., NYC, they may obtain a reduction toward their Fund Drive quota of 20% of their receipted repair bill.

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(Fisur by SA [] on 4/13/56, determined Bill's Radio and TV Service is located at 252½ Bleecker St., NYC. A separate memo will be prepared regarding investigation of this establishment.)

[] stated a meeting will be held at her residence [] on Monday evening, 4/23/56, for all Club Financial Directors, for the purpose of getting the Fund Drive under way.

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Club Organization

[] announced he desired to have all the CP Clubs of the Greenwich Village Section to hold elections at their next meeting. In line with the policy of "collective leadership," as learned from the 20th Congress, CPSU, Club leadership would consist of the following officers:

1. Organizational Secretary
2. Financial Director
3. Press Director
4. Educational Director

[] also commented that in the future a member of the Section Staff would attend as many Club meetings as possible.

[] further stated the Section was having trouble with [] a Club Organizer. He told [] that even though [] desired to continue as a Club Organizer it would be necessary for the Section to replace her.

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MEMO

NY 100-26603-C1879

"The Meaning of the 20th Congress, CPSU"

[redacted] arrived after the meeting had begun, having telephoned first to make sure the meeting was in progress. [redacted] spoke for approximately one hour on "The Meaning of the 20th Congress of the CPSU." [redacted] described [redacted] as very charming but whose speech was almost exactly the same as the speech delivered by GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY, NY State CP Chairman, on 3/23/56, at Yugoslav Hall, NYC.

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[redacted]'s speech was broken down into the following four main topics:

1. What was the assessment of the world situation by the 20th Congress?
2. What is the significance of the Sixth 5 Year Plan?
3. What are the main theoretical lessons that emerged from the Congress?
4. What are the implications of the revelations in respect to Stalin, especially with respect to our own Party?

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After his speech, [redacted] stated there is still no "collective view" in the CP on the Stalin question. He stressed that his comments before this group were his own personal thinking although, he has addressed several sections regarding the 20th Congress.

[redacted] commented there is an "all out effort" to re-enroll old members in the CP - "even people we expelled or dropped." [redacted] declared in regard to expulsions, "Maybe we were wrong," and that the party's efforts to re-register members was based upon "A revaluation in view of the Congress."

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After his speech and a short question period, [redacted] departed and the section members agreed to continue the discussion at the next Section meeting. The majority of the section members present argued their desire to narrow the discussion down to specific issues, but this was opposed by [redacted] and [redacted] who argued "We want the kind of democracy the

MEMO

NY 100-26603-C1879

20th Congress has-." It was therefore decided that only after a general discussion of the 20th Congress would the specific issues be discussed. In this manner it was stated, "we will not repeat old mistakes."

[] commented that there appears to be a tendency to defend Stalin among CP members. This is apparently happening throughout the entire Party.

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May Day Celebration

[] announced a permit had been obtained for the use of Union Square on 4/30/56, for the annual May Day celebration. [] stated there would be more information regarding the May Day program at the next Section meeting. He urged the members present to watch the "Daily Worker" for details and to attempt to get individuals out for this year's celebration who have not attended in the past few years.

Next Section Meeting

[] announced the next meeting of the Greenwich Village CP Section would be held at 7:45 PM. on Wednesday, 4/25/56. at the residence of [] [], NYC.

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The meeting was adjourned at about 11:15 PM.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

TO: SAC, New York (100-120865) Date: May 7, 1956
FROM: SA [] (12-16)
SUBJECT: [] (12-16)
SM - C

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SOURCE: NY 1774-S* (Conceal & Paraphrase)

CHARACTERIZATION: Who was in a logical position to
furnish reliable information.

DATE RECEIVED: April 25, 1956

LOCATION OF ORIGINAL: 100-120865 - 1A 1, photo # 18, 19 & 20

NY 1774-S* on 4/25/56 furnished information concerning the
above captioned (individual) (organization), which information was
maintained in the residence of []

[] may be documented as follows:

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In May, 1954 [] who has furnished reliable information
in the past, advised that at that time, [] was the Financial
Secretary of the Cultural Section of the Harlem Region Communist
Party. On January 7, 1956, [] advised SA []
that to the best of his knowledge, [] was still considered
to be a Financial Secretary in the Harlem Region CP.

The identity of [] should be carefully concealed
so as to protect the source of the above information.

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1cc: 100-95583 (CP, USA LINE)

1cc: 100-86624 (CP, USA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)

1cc: 100-26603 (CP, USA, District 2)

BPM:bpm

100-95583-274

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 7 1956	
[]	

Informant made available hand-written notes which appear to relate to various economic comparisons between the United States and the USSR as well as comments concerning party theory. In part, these notes read as follows:

"Steel

106 mill US
SR 45 - 1960, 63 mill (1963, 90) or 9/10

"Theoretical Questions - War not inevitable. Economic base for war has shrunk. Peaceful transition to socialism through use of parliamentary means possible. USSR Party underestimated strength of nat'l movement.

"Reappraisal of GANDHI,

"Stalin - Estimate of WW 1

"United Front

"Material changes in Soviet society, change to comm. General independence of Marxist parties thru out world. Called for opening up of Marxist criticism - reevaluation of STALIN. Rise of socialist state deepens crisis of capitalism. Socialism becoming superior state in practising Peacefull Co-existence. Peace - new zone of peace, neutral nations, India, Burma, etc.

"Coexistence - 6th 5 year plan - Economic power of socialist country growing phenomenally.....having magnetic effect on backward countries.

"Coal increase, petroleum, electricity, steel.

" Cotton, shoes 64 $\frac{1}{2}$ million - 297 million

"US 448 mill coal
SR 390 " by 1960; 593, 1963, 700 million.

"No increase in US

"Is the end of imperialism possible under capitalism?"

att to no 95583 - 294 mke

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-81)

5/1/56

SAC, NEW YORK (100-86624)

CP, USA
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
IS-C

The "New York Times," 4/24/56, p.2, c.4, contains a news item entitled, "Soviet School Founded-New Institute Will Make a Study of Coexistence." The article, containing a dateline of Moscow, April 23, (Reuters), sets out that the Soviet Academy of Science has set up an institute for research of "coexistence between capitalism and socialism." according to a Tass report.

The article states the new institute will be known as the Institute of World Economics and International Relations and it will publish a monthly journal reporting on economics and politics in capitalist countries and "competition between the two world systems."

In this connection, NY 1317-S* who had access to the National Headquarters of the CP-USA, in 1955, and early 1956, determined that all National CP leaders received weekly copies of the Cominform publication, "For a Lasting Peace for a People's Democracy!" in their mail folders, and it is probable this newspaper is used as a basis for the CP, USA international line.

To above is called to the attention of the Bureau inasmuch as the above monthly publication may be used by the CP-USA, as substitute for the publication of the disbanded Cominform, as a basis for the formulation of the American Communist international line.

- 2- Bureau (100-3-81) (RM)
- ① NY 100-953 (CP Line) (#12-14)
- 1- NY 100-896 (Cominform) (#12-14)
- 1- NY 100-866

DR:mea
(5)

100-953-272

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 1 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

781

Informant made available hand-written notes appear to relate for the most part to the current CP Fund Drive. In part these notes read as follows:

"Fund Drive. Taking place within framework of functioning party. Nat'l, state, county & region offices open & working. Symbolizes defeat of McCarthyism. Typifies new turn for peace loving forces. Not period of setbacks but gains. Acquitted 4 in Cleveland, 1 in Conn. \$2000 bail for MIKE RUSSO (?) instead of 20 or \$50,000. New upsurge of labor. Fight back of Negro people for civil rights and rightful place in our democracy. Heroic stand of party and paper. Opportunity for raising funds exist now as not for years past. Funds needed to advance struggle such as furtherance of Negro representative WATSON in 13th.

"On otherside will be assessments & here too money is important.

"Because of experiences with T men and legal complications, tax, etc., will not be publicized. Plain receipts, no indication of what purpose. Rapidly as possible. Use all forms necessary. 1st from members. Weeks pay from those who can. Functions as one of individuals not any org.

"10% by 19th April. Quotas \$25 per member. Reg. 197. Based on functioning of club & composition & ability to raise money. (6)

larger %.

"10% by April 19th. - To advise if some will have to assume

"20% asked from us.

"2 month FD

"ARNER, TIE & PETE

"Fed. 18th - 20th Congr.

"628 West 151 St. Apt. 6-f

"With regard to the above, it is noted that the records of the New York Bell Telephone Company reflect that [redacted], NYC in the residence of [redacted]

Att no 1/6/50 2583-275

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DATE 5/14/56

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C40) (20-10)

FROM : SA [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: CP, USA DISTRICT #2
NY DIVISION
BRONX COUNTY
IS-C

Source [REDACTED] (protect by
T symbol)
Reliability Who has furnished reliable
information in the past.
Date of Activity 4/5/56
Date Received 4/12/56
Received by SA [REDACTED]
Location [REDACTED]

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The information contained in this report should not be disseminated outside of the Bureau unless it is paraphrased.

The informant reported on a meeting of the CP Club of the North-West Section of Bronx County held on 4/5/56 at the apartment of [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] Bronx, NY.

1 [REDACTED] (P&C) (#7-4)
1-New York (100-7767) [REDACTED] (#20-10)
1-New York (100-120276) [REDACTED] (#20-10)
1-New York (100-123930-1) [REDACTED] LNU (#20-10)
1-New York (100-83432) [REDACTED] (#20-10)
1-New York (100-89402) [REDACTED] LNU (#20-10)
1-New York (100-74560) (CP, USA Funds) (#12-14)
1-New York (97-169) ("Daily Worker") (#7-2)
1-New York (100-47142) (United May Day Committee) (#7-2)
1-New York (100-128338) (Watchdog Committee for Legislation
In the National Interest) (#7-2)
1-New York (100-118525) (Bronx Committee For Freedom of
Political Prisoners) (#7-2)
1-New York (100-98557) (CP, USA Defense Activities) (#12-14)
1-New York (100-50806) (GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY) (#12-16)
①-New York (100-95583) (CP, USA Line) (#2-14)
1-New York (100-4931) (CP, USA) (#12-14)
1-New York (100-121626-2) [REDACTED] LNU (#20-10)

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APH:jaf
(17)

100-95583-276

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 15 1956	
NEW YORK	

REPORT

April 9, 1956
New York

Communist Party U.S.A.

Activities

A meeting of the Communist Party Club of the North-West Section of the Bronx, NY was held on April 5th, 1956 at the apartment of [redacted], Bronx, NY.

The following members were present at this meeting:

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[redacted] (who resides on [redacted]) and [redacted]

[redacted] at the meeting.

[redacted] spoke on the CP's fund drive. She said that although it was decided that this Club will experiment with paying out ("most of the members") the quotas in a ten-month period, the Section Committee was compelled to reserve this decision. It was decided that the club members should have completed a minimum of 60% of their quotas by April 15th. This decision was made because the Daily Worker is in "desperate need of emergency funds."

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[redacted] also asked for donations for the Daily Worker. "These donations are going to the Daily Worker and are handled by the Emergency Committee; this money can not be touch by the government."

The following members brought in money for the CP's fund drive: [redacted] and [redacted] \$50.00 [redacted] 75.00; [redacted] 10.00; Al-\$55.00.

Donations for the Daily Worker's Emergency Committee were given by: [redacted] \$15.00; [redacted] 10.00; [redacted] and [redacted] 10.00; [redacted] 5.00; [redacted] 5.00; [redacted] 3.00

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[redacted] read to the meeting the call to the May Day planning Conference which the Provisional United Citizens Committee for May Day 1956 is calling for April 9th, 1956.

After the reading of the call [redacted] told the meeting that the North-West Section Comm. of the CP is asking every club to send a member to the May Day Conference.

After a short discussion on the importance of making "this May Day a great demonstration of the American Working Class for peace and freedom" [redacted] was elected to go to this conference as a delegate "but not as a delegate from a CP Club." [redacted] explained: "I don't think the party (C.P.) will have official delegates." It was decided to leave to [redacted] on how to register: as a delegate from "Kingsbridge Community Club" or as an individual.

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[redacted] also asked to elect a delegate to the "conference for Legislation in the National Interest."

She told the meeting that this is an important conference and "our party is anxious to play an important part in this conference." [redacted] was elected as delegate to this conference but not to register as a delegate from a communist club.

The chairman announced that the Bronx Committee for Freedom of Political Prisoners will hold an amnesty rally on April 6th, 1956 and asked the club members to attend this affair.

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[redacted] told the meeting that the Charney- Trachtenberg Defense Committee is in need of "comrades to help the committee. There is still a lot of work to be done in connection with the trial of GEORGE and the other defendants, such as visiting leaders of churches, mass organizations and trade unions in the communities. The committee also needs clerical workers, mailers, etc. I was told that the Bronx Committee has only 3 members and that the committee needs about 20 comrades to do a more or less effective job." Rose was assigned to help the Bronx Comm. for the defense of Charney-Trachteng

[redacted] lead a discussion the 20th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Joseph Stalin.

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He said that "to us, American Communists, the report of comrade Khrushchev to the 20th congress on forms of transition to socialism is, to my mind, of

of special importance. Khrushchev pointed out in his report a basic Leninist approach on this point: [] nations will arrive at socialism. This is inevitable, but not all will do it in exactly the same way.' Another important point which Khrushchev points out is that is that 'our enemies like to depict us as advocates of violence. True, we recognize the need for revolutionary transformation of capitalist society into socialist society, but the use or the non-use of violence in transition to socialism depends on the resistance of the exploiters--on whether the exploiting class itself resorts to violence, rather than on the proletariat.'" b6 b7C

[] pointed out that the above quotations are important to "us in America, especially in time of the Smith Act trials. With this declaration of comrade Khrushchev we could come to the Smith Act trial juries and to the American people and show to them: one--that our aim is to bring socialism into our country by parliamentary means and Two--that we are against the use of violence in the transition from capitalism into socialism."

"By using these two points forcefully and to the limit we could knock out the bottom from the entire McCarthyite red-baiting Campaign of the reactionaries in and outside of the government in the campaign against against our party and its leaders."

He stated that as far as Stalin is concerned, he believes that "the central committee of the CP of the Soviet union acted correctly when it declared that the party must return to the principle of collective leadership and came out against the cult of the individual which in this case was Joseph Stalin." He said that he decided to refrain from expressing himself on Stalin because "We know very little about what Khrushchev said about Stalin and it is quite dangerous to base our opinions about Stalin from what we read in the capitalist press, which I am sure is printing a distorted picture of what Khrushchev said about Stalin--we know very little of the actual facts."

A discussion followed.

[] said that Khrushchev's report to the 20th congress was "a great contribution to the cause of socialism." He concluded that "we know little of what has happened to the Stalin--the revolutionary and the b6 b7C

great leader of the Communist revolution something went wrong with Stalin: during the course for the last 20 years of his leadership. As Communist we can not tolerate the fact that instead of a leader Stalin became a god. This is against every principle of Marxism-Leninism. Many comrades are alarmed because of the world-wide campaign of the capitalism forces against the Soviet union and the world communist movement by using the Stalin issue to show that communism is a brutal force and something very bad. I don't think there is cause to be alarmed: Khrushchev knew the implications involved in his attack on Stalin and his cult of the individual. I don't think Khrushchev and the central committee of the CPSU would do anything that will tend to weaken the cause of peace and socialism."

[] and [] expressed similar opinions on Stalin and on the question that different countries "might adopted different tactics in changing capitalism into socialism."

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[] told the meeting that he agrees with some remarks on the subjects made by the different speakers but he doesn't think that Khrushchev made "a special contribution in his remarks on the different forms of transition in different countries. This is an old Leninist approach to the subject and it is the Leninist improvement on Marxism which teaches us that the whole world will adopt one form of transition into socialism. The same goes for the question of violence. Marx and Lenin, Engels and Kautsky and Stalin, etc., etc. always underlined that they would like to bring socialism without revolutions and they always claimed that it is the capitalist class that provokes revolutions. Khrushchev also underlined that he subscribes to this theory. But the fact remains that, as Khrushchev stated to the 20th congress: "True, we recognize the need for the revolutionary transition of capitalist society into socialist society" and "There is no doubt that in a number of capitalist countries the violent overthrow of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the sharp aggravation of class struggle connected with this are inevitable" If Khrushchev would have approached these questions

differently he would have stopped being a communist. So there is actually nothing new in this approach of Khrushchev to these questions. We must remember that there will always be a resistance by one group when another group is trying to take away from it what it believes it belongs to it by all prescribed rights. The question here is not the philosophizing of what came first the chicken or the egg. I suppose the capitalist class would be willing to live quietly in this present-day society of the communists wouldn't attempt to change their way of living. The communists I am sure would be happy to change this present-day system without violence if the capitalists would agree to waive resistance but, as Khrushchev stated in his report to the 20th congress: "It is not our fault that the Russian and international bourgeoisie organized the counter-revolution." We must accept the fact that revolutions will be followed by counter actions, counter revolutions. So, here we have violence, etc. I agree that there might be some points in it when one argues a Smith act case, but talking seriously and among ourselves and from the point of view the science of Marxism-Leninism we must conclude that socialism can not come by debating this question in congress but only through revolution--which is an act of violence."

On the question of Stalin, [] agreed with the previous speakers. He only asked the question of "where was Khrushchev during the 20 years of Stalinism? Somehow it is hard to believe that the soviet government the red army, the Politbureau, the Communist Party the central committee of the CPSU were afraid of Stalin. If the demolishing of the Stalin cult was made for tactical reasons: such as to attract and to make friends with the Socialists of all shades in the world; to win over the world labor movement; to win over to our side the colonial semi-colonial people and countries such as India, etc., to make easier for the West to accept the idea of coexistence, I would say it was a clever move but a bit brutal and quite dangerous. One don't just take a recognized leader of the world communist movement and after three years after his death make a villain of him. The

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danger to the world communist movement lies in the fact that should the enemies of the Communist movement recognize that Khrushchev supplied them with an important propaganda weapon and start a world-wide propaganda campaign against communism basing this propaganda on the facts as given out by Khrushchev that "Stalin was a no-good dictator"; that masses of people were executed during 'his which means the communist, regim and bring out a conclusion that such things could not happen in a capitalist democracy; that a thing like this did happen under Communism and was going on for 20 years with approval of the Soviets and the world communist movement, I am afraid that if such a propaganda campaign should materialize on a large and serious scale the world Communist movement would suffer a serious set-back. Of course we got to wait for the autentic reports on the question of Stalin. Communists ought not to go to far speculating on this point. But I must recognize that while some good will come out from all of this on the question of collective leadership there are also great complications and dangers involved in the exploding of the Stalin image."

/ s / J. Morris

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

TO: SAC, New York (100-**74560**)Date: **May 8, 1956**

FROM: SA [REDACTED] (12-16)

SUBJECT: **CP, USA, FUNDS**b6
b7C

SOURCE: NY 1774-S* (Conceal & Paraphrase)

CHARACTERIZATION: Who was in a logical position to
furnish reliable information.

DATE RECEIVED: April 25, 1956

LOCATION OF ORIGINAL: 100-120865 - 1A 1, photo # 22423

NY 1774-S* on 4/25/56 furnished information concerning the
above captioned (individual) (organization), which information was
maintained in the residence of [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] may be documented as follows:

In May, 1954 [REDACTED] who has furnished reliable information
in the past, advised that at that time, [REDACTED] was the Financial
Secretary of the Cultural Section of the Harlem Region Communist
Party. On January 7, 1956, [REDACTED] advised SA [REDACTED]
that to the best of his knowledge, [REDACTED] was still considered
to be a Financial Secretary in the Harlem Region CP.

The identity of [REDACTED] should be carefully concealed
so as to protect the source of the above information.

100-120865 [REDACTED]
100-128311 (CP, USA, Dist. 2, Funds)
100-26603 (CP, USA, Dist. 2)
100-26603-Sub C 1211 (CP, USA, Dist. 2, Harlem Region)
100-30610 (CP, USA, RECENT QUESTION)
100-96729 [REDACTED]
100-95583 (CP, USA, LINE)

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BPM:bpm

100-95583-275

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 8 1956	
NEW YORK	

[REDACTED] *QW*

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: 5/16/56

FROM : SAC, Albany (100-11574)

SUBJECT: CP, USA
ALBANY DIVISION
PARTY LINE
IS-C

[redacted] on May 7, 1956, (initialed notes filed [redacted]) advised SA ROBERT E. MARGISON that a Communist Party meeting was held on May 6, 1956. This meeting was presided over by [redacted] a member of the New York State Communist Party. The informant said that this was the first in a series of six meetings designed to encompass all Party members in the Albany-Schenectady area and to discuss the 20th Congress of the CPSU. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the Congress, permit the comrades to express their views and ask their questions so that their views could be returned to the National Communist Party for the formulation of the Party policy regarding this 20th Congress. [redacted] also

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CC: 2-Bureau (RM)

1-New York (100-50912) [redacted] (19) (Info) (RM)

1-New York (100-9308) [redacted] (Info) (RM)

1-New York 100-Party Line (Info) (RM)

1-New York 100-BETTY GANNET (Info) (RM)

1-Albany (100-11574)

1-Albany (100-316) [redacted]

1-Albany (100-14980) [redacted]

1-Albany (100-14990) [redacted]

1-Albany (100-1711) [redacted]

1-Albany (100-8761) [redacted]

1-Albany (100-11782) [redacted]

1-Albany (100-15790) [redacted]

1-Albany (100-16256) [redacted]

1-Albany (100-16039) [redacted]

1-Albany (100-16467) [redacted]

1-Albany (100-14224) [redacted]

1-Albany (100-11804) [redacted]

1-Albany (100-11253) (INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)

1-Albany (100-11067) (NEGRO QUESTION)

1-Albany (100-11153) (FACTIONALISM)

1-Albany (100-11832) (NATIONAL GROUP COMMISSIONS)

1-Albany [redacted]

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b7DREM:rvk
(24)

100-9583-277

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 18 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

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1956

AL 100-11574

5/16/56

Director, FBI

CP, USA
ALBANY DIVISION
PARTY LINE
IS-C

presented the views of the state and national on the 20th Congress. The meetings are designed to be educational both ways -- to educate both the local comrades and the state and national Communist Party.

[redacted] stated that the 20th Congress concluded that the CPSU had followed the wrong line and had permitted STALIN to develop the cult of the individual and to stray from Marxist theory. Both Communist Parties erred on the Marshall Plan, in that they should have supported its good points, and in over-estimating the threat of war. The CP, USA, erred in not supporting Smith Act victims who were other than Party members and the Party should have defended the principle and not the people involved. The CP, USA, is too far advanced from the masses and isolates itself in the line it advances. The CP, USA, believes in the peaceful transition to socialism, acknowledges that any kind of change is revolutionary, but insists that revolutionary does not mean war and conflict. The Party is not run democratically, [redacted] concedes, but he maintains that sometimes the Party member just can't disagree with leadership. b6 b7C

The informant stated that the following people attended:

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[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] from Schenectady
[redacted] from Schenectady, his wife
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] from Troy
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

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ALBANY DIVISION
PARTY LINE
IS-C

[] presided and introduced []
who presented the report set forth above.

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[] and [] jointly proposed that, in the future, all issues on which the national leadership of the Communist Party, USA, states a policy should be accompanied by minority as well as the majority reports on the specific issue. These people also want to hear the reasons why the various members of the national leadership support their side of the particular issues. These two people also demanded that the national, as well as the state, leadership come down into the Party groups and discuss Party issues with the groups, rather than staying on a high level and merely passing down policy.

[] stated that the Communist Party should be the most democratic party in the world, but is not. She compared it to the League of Women Voters where they have free discussion and free debate before they arrive at a policy. She regretted that this is not true in the Communist Party. She criticized the Communist Party for always taking a position that if it is not for an issue or a group it is against it. [] said that there is always a middle ground in every issue on which the Party could build a united front.

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[] and [] pointed out that there have been plenty of struggles in the American tradition which were more revolutionary than the Communist Party and particularly pointed to the Revolutionary War. They said that it was a United States tradition of being revolutionary and that the Party should follow this tradition. They said that the Party has lost sight of what the American tradition really is.

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[] said that the Bill of Rights came out of a struggle in the true American tradition and that if the Communist Party carries on the fight according to the

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Constitution it would be just perfect. She said that the United States Constitution had been made perfectly for the Communist Party.

[] did not like the way the leadership of the Communist Party conducts itself. He said that he has seen an instance where a Communist Party Organizer was expelled from the Communist Party and then cropped up in other sections of the country, again as a Communist Party Organizer. He wanted to know how a situation like this was possible.

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[] from Schenectady said that after a man had worked a long time for the Party, the Party must take care of him. [] agreed with this, but said that such a person should be gotten a job in industry by the Party members, not returned to Party leadership.

[] wondered if KRUSCHEV had been telling the truth when he gave his report to the 20th Congress. She said that he was practicing almost a continuation of the cult of the individual because he had held a secret session of the 20th Congress and had given a secret report. She criticized the fact that this report was not known to CPSU circles. [] said that it was not secret because the Party representatives at this CPSU session had taken the report back to their areas and passed it down through Party circles. The informant questioned whether BULGANIN and KRUSCHEV could be trusted. They were STALIN's right-hand men during his regime and they had never objected to his actions so why should they be trusted now. []'s answer was that we can only wait and see and judge them by their actions.

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[] said that the Party had made a mistake on the negro question. He said that the Party had always advocated a separate negro nation in the South, but that this was no good and the Party no longer taught that. He said that the negro is not interested in a separate nation, but wants integration instead. He noted that the liberation movement was a movement for integration and not a separate nation. He

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noted that an article along these lines had been written by [redacted] wrote this article under the name of [redacted] commented in this article that whenever he looked at the United States flag he viewed it with mixed emotions. BETTY GANNET and some unknown male had answered this article and criticized [redacted]. [redacted] said that these two people had never even mentioned [redacted]'s article, but had beat him over the head for something entirely different.

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[redacted] and [redacted] and [redacted] said that that's the way it was in the Party. When you differ with the Party they beat you over the head or sometimes you get expelled, but in any event there is no room for differences in the Party. [redacted] said that all this is going to be changed.

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[redacted] was questioned about what happened to these points that were raised by the comrades in the discussion. He stated that he takes notes on them and takes them back to the state and the national for their discussion and then it helps formulate Party policy. [redacted] indicated that he operated on a state level inasmuch as he said, "We from the state raised this question" on a particular issue.

[redacted] from Schenectady questioned as to how she could work efficiently in a group, when she has experience along a certain line and sees the group members start to do something wrong, and she questioned as to how she could correct the action of these people. She was advised that the majority would have to rule and that nothing else could be done. The informant said that this was not a Party group she was referring to, but some mass organization she was active in. The informant said that [redacted] made a comment after the meeting that [redacted] was not in the Party and that the Party did not want to push her, but that the Party wanted to let her know that she could come into the Communist Party whenever she wants to.

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CP, USA
ALBANY DIVISION
PARTY LINE
IS-C

The informant said that [] was in attendance at the Communist Party caucus on the Jewish Question which was held at []'s home. This caucus has been written up in the [] file. The informant stated that [] must be the non-Party member who was at this caucus and to whom reference has been made in the [] file. [] said that she thought this caucus was a good thing and that more of them should be held and that representatives from the national leadership should come to these caucuses and address them.

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[] then touched on the Jewish Question. He said that there used to be 40 million Jews in Russia, but that there were only 20 million Jews left now. He said that a lot of them had gone to Israel, but that a lot of them had been murdered by the STALIN regime. [] said that STALIN had attempted to eliminate Jewish culture in Russia by doing away with the Jewish theaters and liquidating prominent Jewish writers.

[] said that this move was still hurting the Communist Party in New York City and that every time the Party went down into the garment section in New York, it could not get any place with the people because the Party was accused of being anti-Semitic because of this Russian action. [] maintained that the Communist Party USA, contained lots of Jews: and was not anti-Semitic.

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The question was raised as to why the Communist Party, USA, had to wait for this upheaval in the CPSU before questioning its own operations. [] said that it was not true that the CP, USA, had waited, but rather that the CP, USA, had always been active in its self-criticism and self-evaluation. [] said that the CPSU had found it necessary

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5/16/56

Director, FBI

CP, USA
ALBANY DIVISION
PARTY LINE
IS-C

to go back twenty years in its self-evaluation while the CP, USA, currently was only going back for a ten-year period to re-examine its operations.

[] stated in response to a question that there were very few negroes in the Soviet Union, but that there were several million colored. In response to another question, he admitted that the Communist Party had made a big mistake in trying to organize a third party in this country. The informant stated that [] was referring to the American Labor Party.

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NEW YORK MAY CARE TO ATTEMPT TO LOCATE THE ARTICLE
WRITTEN BY [] AS BEING OF INTEREST IN THE
[] CASE.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C40) DATE: 5/3/56

FROM: SA [REDACTED] (#20-10)

SUBJECT: BRONX COUNTY CP
IS - CSOURCE: [REDACTED] (protect
identity)RELIABILITY: Who has furnished
reliable information in
the pastb6
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b7D

DATE OF ACTIVITY: 4/4/56

DATE RECEIVED: 4/12/56

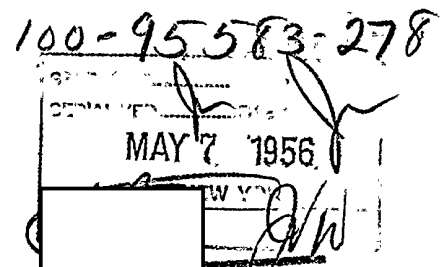
RECEIVED BY:

SA [REDACTED]

LOCATION: [REDACTED]

In the attached report the informant sets forth the details of a monthly education meeting of the Hunts Point-Tremont-Boulevard Section held on 4/4/56.

1 - [REDACTED] (P & C) (20-10)
1 - NY 100-22725 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1 - NY 100-58063 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1 - NY 100-82900 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1 - NY 100-109045 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1 - NY 100-52710 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1 - NY 100-68378 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1 - NY 100-100182 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1 - NY 100-81599 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1 - NY 100-85349 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1 - NY 100-13466 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1 - NY 100-123460 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1 - NY 100-123890 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1 - NY 100-128010 [REDACTED] LNU) (20-10)

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b7DMFD: cxd
(20)

Memo

NY 100-26603-C40

1 - NY 100-82191 ([REDACTED]) (20-10)
1 - NY 100- [REDACTED] (20-10)
1 - NY 100-102292 ([REDACTED]) (20-10)
① - NY 100-95583 (CP, USA LINE) (12-14)
1 - NY 100-128437 (MRS. [REDACTED]) (20-10)

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Date of report April 8, 1956

TCP

I attended a monthly educational meeting at the Hungarian Restaurant, 2141 Southern Boulevard, on the 20th Congress of the U.S.S.R. This was sponsored by the Bronx Freedom of the Press Committee, (Communist Party of Bx. County) Hunts Point, Tremont, Boulevard section.

The main speaker was one [] introduced by [] who chaired the meeting, as one who was in the Party for a long time and one time Bx. County functionary.

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The meeting was well attended by about forty people, some of which were [] and [] County [], Parents club organizer from the Hunts Point area, [], and a [] who lived on Bathgate Ave. a few years back and then moved to Florida and has since returned to the Bronx.

There were quite a few people whom I never saw before.

The meeting started about nine o'clock, [] was also there, she gave me twenty five dollars for the fund drive which I turned over to [] plus thirty dollars which I gave her on Wednesday making a total of fifty-five for my Club 6.

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[] ordered the meeting opened while [] was setting up a literature table at the rear of the hall.

After [] introduced the speaker, he didn't rise to speak but sat at a table and spoke in a low tone of voice, which was not very audible in the rear.

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[] explained that this report on the 20th Congress is not to be taken as a complete report but only

att # to 100-95583-278

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an interpretation of Khrushchev's report to the 20th Congress. It would be impossible to try and evaluate the true meaning of this lengthy report until the true full length report does come from the Soviet Union.

A report like this cannot be evaluated in one evening, but only a series of lengthy discussions by the entire membership and from further official sources, then and only then will we be able to understand the true meaning this report.

[] did say that this report comes at a time when the transition from Socialism to Communism in the U.S. is the closest to a reality in the History of the U.S.

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That the five year plan of the Soviet Union is so realistic and that the possibility of overtaking and surpassing the Capitalistic Countries of the U.S. and Great Britain, in the means of production, is coming closer to a reality than many people think.

[] said this with great confidence and predicted such an event in the future, and right now the Soviet Union outnumbers the U.S. and Great Britain in the peaceful means of Atomic energy.

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Another phase of progress in the Soviet Union is the further development of the Socialist Democracies, since the new administration has taken over after Stalin's death.

The new relationship of forces between the Soviet Union and the Socialist world and the Colonial Countries, which also have developed further in their struggle for liberation from Capitalistic domination.

On Stalin, [] agreed partially with the report, in that he was a man who ruled with an iron hand and did make certain errors which upon closer examination now, showed signs of weakness on his part.

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Stalin's last book entitled the Economic Problems of Socialism was very incorrect, a sign which did not show up until a closer examination of the book

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was complete.

His Policy with the Tito regime was also an incorrect one, but appear noticable until the 20th Congress report was published and evaluated by everyone.

[] gave his own opinon on how the Communist Party should be run in the U.S. Do not take orders etc. from any other Country, disavow ourselves from anything foreign, and not to be be subject to a foreign Power, we should make our own Policy, and speak to the people show them the difference between the two systems Socialism and Capitalism and if we can convince the masses then the transition will be made very peaceful and with a minimum of trouble.

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We would be willing to sit down with anyone in regard to this transition and discuss which is the better of the two.

This transition has a different form in every country, as one of our leaders pointed out that, in no two Countries will the same problem arise, thus there is no general Policy to follow, but only the will of the majority.

After the meeting there was a question period, but no answers until the full report of the 20th Congress is complete, but [] would answer as many questions as he could and the rest he would study and return at a later date to report back to us, by then the picture will look brighter.

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I left immediatly after the report.

Mrs. [] also attended the meeting, as was [] wife.

This meeting took place on Wednesday night April 4, 1956.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C40) DATE: 5/3/56

FROM: SA [REDACTED] (20-10)

SUBJECT: BRONX COUNTY CP
IS - C

SOURCE: [REDACTED] (protect identity)

RELIABILITY: Who has furnished reliable
information in the past

DATE OF ACTIVITY: 4/6/56

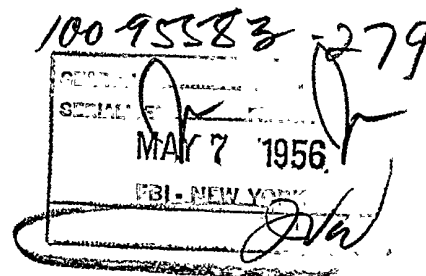
DATE RECEIVED: 4/12/56

RECEIVED BY: SA [REDACTED]

LOCATION: [REDACTED]

In the attached report the informant sets forth the details of a section staff meeting of the Hunts Point-Tremont-Boulevard Section Bronx County CP held on 4/6/56.

- 1 - [REDACTED] (P & C) (20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-125102 [REDACTED] (20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-109045 [REDACTED] (20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-72964 [REDACTED] (20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-82900 [REDACTED] (20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-52710 [REDACTED] (20-10)
- 1 - NY 97-169 ("DAILY WORKER" and "THE WORKER") (7-2)
- 1 - NY 100-80633 (CP, USA EDUCATION) (12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-95583 (CP, USA LINE) (12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-81599 [REDACTED] (20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-85349 [REDACTED] (20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-128440 (FNU [REDACTED]) (20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-109147 [REDACTED] (20-10)
- 1 - NY 100- [REDACTED] (20-13)
- 1 - NY 100-125124 [REDACTED] (20-10)

LFD:exd
(16)b6
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Date of report April 8, 1956

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On Friday night April 6 I attended a Section Staff meeting of the Hunts Point, Tremont, Boulevard Section Communist Party at [redacted] house [redacted]

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This meeting was to be attended to in place of the Amnesty rally which was held at the New Terrace Gardens.

[redacted] told me about it on Wednesday night, that this meeting was more important.

I called at [redacted]'s house before going over to the meeting place, but her baby sitter did not arrive yet, it was [redacted]'s daughter, she went to see Eddie Fisher downtown, and will be here later.

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[redacted] gave me the address and Apt. number, when I got there [redacted] was alone, this was the first time I saw her a young woman about 38 yrs. old, about 5'2", brunette hair, dark complexion, wears eye glasses, is in her ninth month of pregnancy, expects any day, has another child a boy of about 2½ years old, is in the Party a long time and operates out of the Hunts Point Area.

She knew me, the others must have been talking to her because she said as much, we talked of Party work while waiting for others to show, she asked about the Wednesday night meeting. I told her it was very well attended by about 40 people.

I told her that the speaker knew what he was talking about, but only could not give a very comprehensive report because of the many conflicting stories we read about, but until further clarifying reports come to us we cannot express ourselves too clearly.

att #1 to 100-95583-279 *h*

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A little while later [] came in followed by [] and the last person was []

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[] had prepared an agenda and some of the points were, Press and Class as presented by [] next discussion on 20th Congress, fund drive, club organizers' meeting, Section staff and Committee meeting.

On Press [] said that he has prepared a list of names of subscribers from 1952 to present and they can be separated into areas and visited for subs and as [] said the drive has been extended to June 30.

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b7C

I am to get together with [] next week, he will call me up, and go over these cards.

On the Sections club organizers have started March 22, and since postponed, the discussion centered around the possibility of holding this class or postponing it for a short time.

[] explained that another discussion on the 20th Congress is going to be held on next Thursday at the Hungarian Restaurant 2141 So. Blvd.

[] said that in order to have a clearer understanding of the 20th Congress we have to hold twenty four meetings and [] said that we will have that many.

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b7C

After discussing the class [] proposed that we postpone it for 1 month, but at our subsequent Section Staff meetings we discuss it further.

There are going to be some changes made in Club organizers and by that time we can plan more concretely.

[] then gave a report on the Wednesday night 20th Congress meeting and admitted that it will take many meetings until we can get a clearer picture on the 20th Congress.

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COPY

TCP

[] brought up that [] and [] disagreed with the speaker and the manner in which they spoke and presented their argument was a little shocking and out of place, and as [] put it the reason for this outburst of opinion is our own fault, because it shows a lack of leadership and vigilance on our part.

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The meeting in itself was very successful and will be continued on a weekly basis until a complete understanding on the Congress is had by all.

[] attended a club meeting, whose organizer was [], and said that he was very much pleased because every one there was very frank and asked many questions, but in response to [] who said that it is the duty of the Section Staff to go to these meetings, [] agreed but felt that the club organizer should set up the agenda and carry the meeting, not the staff member.

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These were a few other points on the agenda, the fund drive and the question of meeting with clubs and setting up staff and Section Committee meetings, but I had to leave at ten thirty so I arranged to meet [] some night and go over there points.

A few weeks back I saw [] cleaning a car with a license number [] a late model []

b6
b7C

A sub by [] was turned in by [] at a meeting in the Restaurant.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C40) DATE: 5/3/56
FROM: SA [REDACTED] (#20-10)
SUBJECT: BRONX COUNTY CP
IS - C

SOURCE: [REDACTED] (protect
identity)

RELIABILITY: Who has furnished reliable
information in the past

b6
b7C
b7D

DATE OF ACTIVITY: 4/10/56

DATE RECEIVED: 4/20/56

RECEIVED BY:

SA [REDACTED]

LOCATION: [REDACTED]

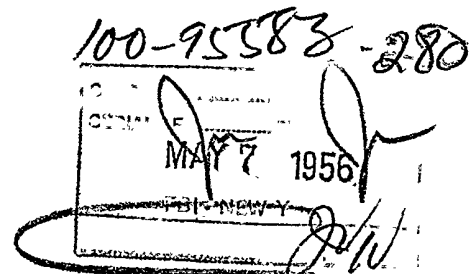
In the attached report the informant sets forth the details of a meetings with [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] on 4/10/56 to discuss organization within the Hunts Point-Tremont-Boulevard Section of the Bronx County CP.

b6
b7C

1 - [REDACTED] (P & C) (20-10)
1 - NY 100-109045 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1 - NY 100-106044 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1 - NY 100-56 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1 - NY 100-112757 (CARVER BOOK SHOP) (20-10)
1 - NY 100-82900 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1 - NY 100-52710 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1 - NY 100-22725 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1 - NY 100-85349 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1 - NY 100-81599 [REDACTED] (20-10)
① - NY 100-95583 (CP, USA LINE) (12-14)
1 - NY 100-9608 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1 - NY 100-74519 [REDACTED] (20-10)

b6
b7C
b7D

MFD: cxd
(20)



P.emo

NY 100-26603-Cl0

1 - NY 100-123460 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1 - NY 100-13466 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1 - NY 100-120984 [REDACTED] LNU (20-10)
1 - NY 100-82273 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1 - NY 100- [REDACTED] LNU (20-10)
1 - NY 100-128439 [REDACTED] (20-10)

b6
b7c

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Date of report April 18, 1956

TCP

I received a call from [] on Tuesday night April 10 asking me to go to []'s house, it was very important. I told her that I would be there about nine o'clock.

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When I got to her house after going around in circles, the house number is [] I thought it was Crotona Pk. North, but after rechecking I found the right address.

I rang the bell, [] and her husband answered the door I asked for her and he did not recognize me immediately, but upon refreshing his memory he told me that [] was asleep. I asked how come didn't she know about the meeting [] called me up and told me to come here tonight because it was very important.

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b7C

He said that he was sure that [] knew nothing about the meeting, in fact she came home a short while ago, after flying from Cleveland where she attended the funeral of her stepfather, and she was all knocked out, he had to give her a pill to go to sleep.

I asked if I could call [] to see if plans were changed, he said it was alright, so I called and asked [] how come that there was no one here, so she told me to go to the bookshop that's where it was being held.

I then went to the bookshop on 807 E. Tremont Ave. and saw [] and [] sitting in a newly partitioned room, I went in and told them that I was running all around town trying to find where this meeting was supposed to be held.

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b7C

They apparently knew that there was a mixup, and they also said that [] would not be here because her husband was ill.

att # 1 To 100-95583-280

COPY

TCP

This meeting was a meeting to discuss ways and means of setting up clubs that would function, if necessary to change certain club organizers, also to elect a Section Committee of the Hunts Point, Tremont, Boulevard Section of the Communist Party of Bronx County.

[] said that we should guarantee a large turnout at this Thursday nights meeting at the Hungarian Restaurant 2141 So. Blvd. This meeting is a continuation of last Wednesday nights meeting, the principle speaker [], who was to readdress us again.

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[] spoke briefly on the re-actions of [] and [] to the remarks passed by [] and said that their disagreement gave us an indication of how people in our Party are disturbed and especially so at at time like this.

b6
b7C

These two meetings are on the 20th Congress of the Soviet Union, and they are no means a final analysis of what took place at this Congress but only a series of talks to clarify many of us on this important subject.

On the clubs [] went over the list with [] and myself and said that at present he does not propose any changes, but rather we must see to it that clubs start to meet and discuss the 20th Congress, the fund drive and Press.

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b7C

Once we get the clubs to function regularly then we can make certain benifical changes.

The next point is the Section staff and as of now we have [] and [] later we can add a few more.

b6
b7C

On the Section Committee we have the following,

COPY

TCP

[redacted]
[redacted] from Youth, [redacted]
[redacted] Bronx River and South Bronx will be
represented on this Committee in the near future also
a [redacted] - editor of the Italian language newspaper.

b6
b7C

In reference to him [redacted] said that in the future he would head a group of Italian speaking comrades and that the chances of me being transferred into this club, are very good, but as of now we keep everything as it is.

A tentative date for these section committee meetings would be the on the first Thursday of every month, in this case on May 3.

A date was also set to call all the club organizers together for a meeting, [redacted] asked if anyone would object to meeting here, at this bookshop, [redacted] thought that there would definitely would be objections. so in that case we meet next Thursday April 26 at [redacted] house [redacted]

b6
b7C

The topic for this organizers meeting is a very important one and he is going to ask [redacted] to prepare a report the topic Review of Jewish Life, what are people in Jewish organizations doing, both right and left, in our own community etc.

[redacted] remarked that [redacted] could come back with a good report, she has already made some wonderful reports on other topics and is capable of turning out one for this meeting.

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b7C

[redacted] asked [redacted] and I what our personal views were about the 20th Congress and the remarks made by the leaders of the Soviet Union.

According to the reaction at our past meeting last Wednesday night the people are confused and rightly

COPY

TCP

so because no set policy has been handed down, and as [] put it our own National and others lesser leaders have not come out with one single statement concerning this 20th Congress.

[] was very much confused as much as others in our Party, but his reaction corresponds with those of [] and until such time that a definite statement does come down, we must discuss it in our clubs, and Section meetings.

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I also agreed that the remarks which [] made at that meeting were limited but, I agreed with him, that the Communist Party in the U.S. must break away from the dictator and wishes of the Soviet Union, we must stand on our own two feet and form our own policy, but as was pointed out we cannot make statement pro or con until the full text of the 20th Congress comes out.

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b7C

[] remarked that this form of criticism is very good and it is only on this basis that our Party can survive.

Our Party must be a Party of the people and not the dictator of a few leaders.

The next staff meeting was set for Monday April 16, at [] house, and the following one for April 30.

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This meeting place was changed a little, as you entered a partition was added to the left hand side of the room, the rear, extending over to the east wall, inside this newly formed room there were about 5 desks about twenty or thirty chairs, a few bookcases were lined against the north wall, a mimeograph machine was atop another closet, and from what I gathered the bookshop is open every Tuesday night for the purchase of literature and books, a lady is in attendance on this night.

COPY

TCP

This meeting tonight was attended by [redacted]
[redacted] Hunts Point, Tremont, Boulevard Section Section
[redacted] Secretary and
[redacted].

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b7C

SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-043)

5/3/56

SA [REDACTED] (#20-11)

CP, USA, DISTRICT #2,
KINGS COUNTY
IS-C

Identity of Informant:

NY 1657-S*

b6
b7C

Reliability:

Furnished reliable information
in the past

Date Received:

4/5/56

Agent to Whom Furnished:

SA [REDACTED]

Location:

NY 100-26603 Sub 31

NY 1657-S* advised on 4/5/56, that a meeting of the Kings County CP Educational Directors was held on that date at 1212 Kings Highway, Brooklyn, NY, CP County meeting place, at which the information set forth hereinafter was obtained.

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[REDACTED] was [REDACTED] of instant meeting which she characterized as an Educational Directors' meeting.

[REDACTED] made reference to the fact that she had received a ballpoint pen as a result of having opened an account at the Roosevelt Savings Bank in her neighborhood.

[REDACTED] then commented on the wide spread discussions as a result of some of the reports concerning the Twentieth Congress of the CP in the USSR and pointed out that as Educational

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b7C

- 1 - NY 100-40394 [REDACTED] (#20-11)
- 1 - NY 100-53755 [REDACTED] (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-66029 [REDACTED] (#20-11)
- 1 - NY 100-79717 (CP, USA, POLITICAL ACTIVITIES) (#12-14)
- ① - NY 100-95583 (CP LINE) (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-51020 (JEFFERSON SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE) (#7-2)
- 1 - NY 100-89691 (DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES) (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-26603-043 (SUPERVISOR [REDACTED])
- 1 - NY 100-26603-043

JTO: jel
(9)

100-95583-281

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 8 1956	
NEW YORK	

[REDACTED]

MEMO
NY 100-26603-C43

Directors of the various sections of Kings County, the assembled cadre had a special role to play in order to guarantee that the discussions which are carried on in the CP clubs in Brooklyn are carried on in an organized manner and by a informed membership.

[] then introduced [] who was the principal speaker.

[] stated that although there have been some basic Party documents issued since 1950, there has not actually been a national convention since that time. [] stated that since 1950 a number of questions have been raised that go to the heart of the policy adopted at that time and that, in fact, a number of policy changes have been made since that time without the benefit of a national convention.

[] stated, however, that there is a discussion now of organizing a national convention during the remaining months of 1956. [] continued that a reappraisal and revaluation of the CP programs and policies that have been pursued in the past would be made.

[] stated that as a result of the Twentieth Congress of the USSR, a new CP line is being presented to the CPs throughout the world. [] stated that the new CP line is that the CPs of the world are on their own and that if policies pursued since the Russian Revolution of 1917 or since the organization of the Comintern were of a certain subordination of world Communist movements to the Soviet Union, then this has now come to an end.

[] then proceeded to deliver a report dealing with the four following points:

1. The relationship of the Socialist to the Capitalist world.
2. An estimate of the international situation.

MEMO
NY 100-26503-C43

3. Theoretical questions as a result of the Twentieth Congress of the CP in the USSR.
4. Questions concerning STALIN.

[] noted that the Twentieth Congress of the CP in the USSR had the following effect on the CP, USA:

1. A large section of membership were impressed with the advances and strength of the USSR.
2. Deep agitation on the STALIN issue.

b6
b7C

[] pointed out that the Twentieth Congress of the CP in the USSR highlighted the following:

1. The fact that Socialism has become a world system.
2. The historical significances of the sixth of the five year plan in the USSR.
3. The high economic standards achieved in the USSR.
4. The existence of a belt of countries in the world which advocate a neutral policy in international politics.
5. The possibility of the peaceful transition to Socialism in the US.

[] concluded the meeting by announcing that the next Kings County CP Educational Directors meeting would be held at the address on 5/3/56, and noting that the Jefferson School of Social Science was offering several new courses dealing with the Twentieth Congress of the CP in the USSR.

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The following phonetic first names were mentioned during the course of the meeting:

[]
[]
[]

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MEMO
NY 100-26603-043

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] and [REDACTED]

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b7C

No photographs of the individuals present were
obtained on 4/5/56.

May 8, 1956

AIRMAIL

SAC
DIV. 1
DIV. 2
DIV. 3
DIV. 4
SEC. 1
SEC. 2
SEC. 3
SEC. 4
SEC. 5
SEC. 6
SEC. 7
SEC. 8
SEC. 9
SEC. 10
SEC. 11
SEC. 12 - 14
SEC. 13
SEC. 14
SEC. 15

To: DIRECTOR, FBI
From: SAC, ALBANY (100-11574)

CP USA
Albany Division Party Line
IS-C (CUBAN)

[redacted] on May 7, 1956, advised SA ROBERT E. MARGISON that a Communist Party meeting was held on May 6, 1956. [redacted] meeting was presided over by [redacted], a member of the New York State Communist Party. The informant said that this was the first in a series of six meetings designed to encompass all Party members in the Albany-Schenectady area and to discuss the 20th Congress of the CPUSA. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the congress, permit the comrades to express their views and ask their questions so that their views could be returned to the National Communist Party for the formulation of the Party policy regarding this 20th Congress. [redacted] also presented the views of the state and national on the 20th Congress. The meetings are designed to be educational both ways -- to educate both the local comrades and the state and national Communist Party.

[redacted] stated that the 20th Congress concluded that the CPUSA had followed the wrong line and had permitted STALIN to develop the cult of the individual and to stray from Marxist theory. Both Communist Parties erred on the Marshall Plan in that they should have supported its good points and in over-estimating the threat of war. The CPUSA erred in not supporting Smith Act victims who were other than Party members and the Party should have defended the principle and not the people involved. The CPUSA is too far advanced from the masses and isolates itself in the line it advances. The CPUSA believes in the peaceful transition to socialism, acknowledges that any kind of change is revolutionary but insists that revolutionary does not mean war and conflict. The Party is not run democratically. [redacted] concedes, but he maintains that sometimes the Party member just can't disagree with leadership.

CC: 1-Bureau
1-New York (100-PARTY LINE)
1-Albany (100-11574)

REU:GMS
(4)

RMH: [signature]
100-50314

100-15583-282

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 9 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

May 8, 1956

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

To: DIRECTOR, FBI

CP USA

Albany Division Party Line
IS-C (GEMAL)

The Party members claimed that the Communist Party should be the most democratic party in the world but it is not. Free discussion and open debate is not permitted. The Party was attacked because it always feels that it must be either for or against an issue while the truth is that there is always a middle ground and always some points in all issues on which a united front can be built. The members stated that, in the future, they wanted to hear majority and minority reports from higher bodies on all issues together with the reasons for the conclusions those bodies reach. The comrades requested that national and state leadership be more available to the Party on the Group level. The question was advanced as to whether BULGAREV and KRUSCHEV can be trusted. They were STALIN'S right-hand men when he was deviating. They indulged in neither criticism of him nor in self-criticism so can they be trusted now. [redacted] advocated that we wait and see and judge them by their actions.

Detailed letter follows.

SOUCY

END

PAGE TWO

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-71)

5/9/56

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80633)(#19)

CP-USA EDUCATION
IS-C

On 4/25/56, NY 1743-S*, who had access to the National Headquarters of the CP, 101 West 16th Street, NYC, was contacted by agents of the NYO. This source has furnished reliable information in the past and should be concealed.

Source made available a 3 page mimeographed outline entitled "Discussion Outline for Clubs." A Photostat of this outline is attached for the Bureau copy. The original NY copy of this communication contains the mimeographed document as received from source.

- 2 - Bureau (100-3-71)(Att. 1) (RM)
- 1 - NY 100-80633 (Att. 1)
- ① - NY 100-95583 (CP LINE (#19))(Att.1)

DR:dm
(4)

100-95583-283

DISCUSSION OUTLINE FOR CLUBS

NOTE: This is simply a guide to club discussion and should not be regarded as a blueprint of the definitive estimate of our Party. The discussion leaders should exercise the widest latitude in adjusting the outline to the needs of the club. However, we feel that the 20th Congress decisions can only be evaluated fully in the framework of the main questions included here. This does not mean other questions are not important or do not deserve discussion.

- - - - -

THE 20TH CONGRESS - C.P.S.U.

I GENERAL SIGNIFICANCE OF 20TH CONGRESS

- a) Registered the qualitative change in the relations between the Socialist system of states and the capitalist world.
- b) Charted the path of transition from socialism to communism - the 6th five-year plan.
- c) Opened up a new creative fight against dogmatism and doctrinarism, with the revaluation of Stalin and his role.
- d) Opened new era of Soviet democracy.
- e) Marked a new breadth and flexibility of Soviet foreign policy.
- f) Noted the changed situation in the national and colonial liberation movements with 1,200,000,000 peoples having broken with imperialism.

II THE ECONOMIC PLAN - ITS SIGNIFICANCE

- a) Aim in next three plans to surpass capitalism not only in increase in rate of production, but also per capita.
- b) Transition to greater use of atomic energy production of electricity.
- c) End of 48 hour week - transition to 42 hour week and 36 hour week.
- d) Universal compulsory schooling through 10 years.

III MAIN THEORETICAL QUESTIONS

1. War & Peace

- a) War no longer fatally inevitable - the peace forces powerful enough to prevent war. The economic base of imperialism still engenders war, therefore peace is not inevitable either, but can be won through struggle. The economic base of imperialism which engenders war has shrunk however, and the political forces continuously changing in favor of peace.

- b) The new concept of a Zone of Peace - includes neutrals and ex-colonies as well as socialist world. This contradicts the previous Cominform position on 3rd force which was characterized as part of war camp.
- c) Peaceful Co-existence - call for transition from armed truce situation to lasting peace - a new approach to higher level of peaceful co-existence. Declared war on ossified diplomacy - called for bold approach - no self-imposed isolation.

2. Economic Analysis

- a) Attacked old approach that capitalist production would continuously decline within general crisis of capitalism.
- b) Noted increase sharpening of conflict for markets among capitalist powers, especially between U.S.A. and Great Britain.
- c) Disintegration of world colonial system opens up new paths to industrial development of former colonies - economic consequences of this development on world imperialist system - Soviet economic aid, without strings, to former colonies in contrast to economic policy of imperialist states.

3. Peaceful Transition to Socialism

- a) Peaceful transition to socialism possible - use of Parliament - condition - leadership of workingclass - reformist vs. revolutionary paths - cooperation of Socialist and Communist Parties.
- b) Reaffirms Leninist line of different paths to socialism.

IV THE STALIN QUESTION

- 1. Challenged system of leadership which violated principles of collective leadership.
- 2. This system of leadership which violated Marxism-Leninism led to theoretical and practical mistakes and open the way to the abuses of Soviet power by the Beria gang.
- 3. Shocking revelations of violation of civil and legal rights - purges - violation of socialist democracy that flowed from the abnormal power of the police.
- 4. Rigid, ossified, foreign policy which increased with tensions and imposed self-isolation.
- 5. Basis for violation of principles of collective leadership and Socialist democracy ascribed to a major theoretical error. That is the idea that as socialism grows stronger, class struggle would intensify.
 - a) This led to political errors in dealing with all who disagreed with any aspect of Soviet policy. These were classified as enemies to be destroyed.

V SOME TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS IN RESPECT TO OUR OWN PARTY

1. "Together with the ever present need of examining all questions and developments factually, objectively, scientifically - the chief lesson is the lesson of collective leadership, criticism and self-criticism" - Dennis - Worker April 8, 1956.

Among these questions are:

- a. The struggle for peace.
- b. The Negro Question.
- c. The Party and the labor movement.
- d. The fight for democracy.
- e. Party program "The American Way" adopted in 1954.
- f. Inner Party Life:
 1. Inner-Party democracy
 2. Creative Marxism vs. dogmatism
 3. Sectarianism
 4. Criticism & self-criticism

SUGGESTED READING

1. Daily & Sunday Worker
 2. All issues of Lasting Peace since 2-17-56
 3. The New Soviet Strategy - by Research Institute of America, headed by Leo Cherne - Tuesday, March 27, World Telegram
-

JEFFERSON SCHOOL - The School's spring term is now under way. There are many courses including a number of specific features of the 20th Party Congress and the policies of the Communist Party, U.S.A. that are of great value.

Let's revive the slogan: "ONE NIGHT A WEEK FOR STUDY"

**
*

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: : SAC, CHICAGO

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-56579)

SUBJECT: PHILIP BART
IS-C

DATE: 5/14/56

The following is for information:

On 4/28/56, NY 1750-S*, who is in a position to furnish reliable information concerning PHILIP BART's activities, furnished the following information:

PHIL BART stated that he wanted to talk to CARL (WINTER). The informant did not know about which he wanted to talk.

5 - Chicago (RM)
 (1 - 100-) [REDACTED]
 (1 - 100-) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
 (1 - 100-) [REDACTED]
 2 - Detroit (100-) SOL WELLMAN) (RM)
 (1 - 100-) (CARL WINTER)
 1 - Los Angeles (100-) (DOROTHY HEALY) (RM)
 1 - Newark (100-) [REDACTED] (RM)
 1 - Pittsburgh (100-) (STEVE NELSON) (RM)
 2 - San Francisco (100-) (ARCHIE BROWN) (RM)
 (1 - 100-) (WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN)
 1 - New York (100-89179) [REDACTED] (20-10)
 1 - New York (100-12959) [REDACTED] (19)
 1 - New York (100-4931) (CP, USA) (12-14)
 ① - New York (100-95583) (CP, USA-LINE) (12-14)
 1 - New York (100-89590) (CP, USA-STRATEGY AND INDUSTRY) (12-14)
 1 - New York (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (19)
 1 - New York (100-9364) (JAMES FORD) (12-15)
 1 - New York (100-94823) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (20-10)
 1 - New York (100-13203) [REDACTED] (12-14)
 1 - New York (100-23290) [REDACTED] (12-14)
 1 - New York (100-23290) [REDACTED] (12-14)
 1 - New York (100-20649) (ED STRONG) (19)
 1 - New York (100-18673) [REDACTED] (19)
 1 - New York (100-56579)

b6
b7C

EJC:MMC
(26)

JK

100-95583-284

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
MAY 15 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

WV

Letter to Chicago
NY 100-56579

PHIL stated that "we had our regular small committee meeting which we have every Monday night. [] had a summary ready but before he could get the second sentence out of his mouth, DENNIS shut [] up and gave a report on what he had been doing for two months with leadership contacts. When he finished [] didn't say anything nor did [] and of course, I wasn't going to say anything." BART went on to say "we can't have a leadership like we had, out for so many years without a crisis."

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Pertaining to the meeting of that day, PHIL used the term "a bunch of tangents, made over to have something to go by."

BART stated that [] wished to play poker that night but no one was in the mood. He added that DOROTHY HEALY wanted everyone to go to the BARTS.

PHIL stated that on this date there were 10 speakers at the meeting. [] was first, others were ED (STRONG), DOROTHY HEALY, BILL SCHNEIDERMAN, [] WILLIAM FOSTER, ARCHIE (BROWN), JAMES WEST, SOL (WELLMAN) and STEVE (NELSON). He said that as of that day [], FORD (JAMES FORD) and CARL (WINTER) have not spoken yet.

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PHIL indicated that the meeting was an evaluation of the last 10 years of the CP and regarding the lessons the whole world can gain from the CP of the Soviet. PHIL stated that [] was the first speaker.

BART said [] said "all of our mistakes are a result of the fact that we built our organization and policy on the image of the Soviet Party and consequently, we must examine the Soviet Party's mistakes in order to solve our own problems." BART said that these comments by [] were nonsense. BART said that the National Committee members were allowed 20 minutes to speak but [] only took 5 because he stressed this one thought.

b6
b7C

Letter to Chicago
NY 100-56579

PHIL said ARCHIE (BROWN) spoke last. PHIL said meeting would continue on the following day.

PHIL stated that GENE (DENNIS) at the meeting stated that mistakes were made on certain basic questions from 1945 on, and once the Party gets GENE's report there will be all kinds of discussions. PHIL said the Party will go off half-cocked if it has no direction.

PHIL stated that BILL (SCHNEIDERMAN) got a lot off his chest by going into defense of his own position as against that of the National Administrative Committee. PHIL stated that BILL was right only in some respects.

BART stated that ED (STRONG) made the statement that the main center of Negro work was in the South and not in the North.

PHIL said that a lot of things at the meeting were still not finished, and that he possibly would speak the following day on organization.

BART said that he lunched this day with CLAUDE (LIGHTFOOT) and [REDACTED].

b6
b7C

[REDACTED] contacted [REDACTED] on this date and tried to see her. PHIL BART stated that there were 48 people at the meeting on this date and went on to say that SOL (WELLMAN) "did all right". PHIL said that the people that spoke, spoke of their own mistakes in leadership.

PHIL said that ARCHIE (BROWN) is a longshoreman's man.

At the meeting, ARCHIE indicated that there was no reason to get excited about the merger in the Labor Movement and that we should be careful when merging independent unions.

Letter to Chicago
NY 100-56579

PHIL then stated that [] tries to impose upon the Labor Movement our own policy, which the masses are not yet ready to accept.

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PHIL added that FOSTER's position was that the split in the Labor Movement was inevitable because of the cold war policy, social democracy on a world scale, a ... Labor Movement in the whole world...is only partly true.

PHIL stated that we did not expect MURRAY to accept such a policy but if he would permit such a policy to be applied, "we would get away in the Labor Movement, but that more than that, the masses and workers in the trade unions were not ready to support such a line."

PHIL said that the point involved is that "we created such a situation for our forces in the Labor Movement that it was impossible to maintain assembly of unity for all or for any union...after their expulsion from the CIO, some people sought a new national federation..."

PHIL stated that the top leadership in the Labor Movement is under State Department influence and outside of slogans, no one will fight for labor unity."

On 2/15/56, [] stated that PHILIP BART was Assistant Executive Secretary, CP, USA. b7D

Extreme care should be used in the dissemination of this information so as not to compromise the informant.

5/17/56

A I R T E L

REGULAR - REGISTERED

BALTIMORE (100-13098)

DIRECTOR, FBI

CP, USA, LINE
IS - C
CINAL

SAC
DIV. 1
DIV. 2
DIV. 3
DIV. 4
SEC. 1
SEC. 2
SEC. 3
SEC. 4
SEC. 5
SEC. 6
SEC. 7
SEC. 8
SEC. 9
SEC. 10
SEC. 11
SEC. 12
SEC. 13
SEC. 14
SEC. 15
SEC. 16
SEC. 17
SEC. 18
SEC. 19
SEC. 20

On 5/15/56 CS BA 1066-*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished a 21 page report of EUGENE DENNIS on behalf of the National Board which report was given at the 4/28/56 meeting of the National Committee. Source obtained this report at the residence of [redacted] Baltimore.

On 3/2/56, [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, identified [redacted] as the CP District Organizer in Baltimore.

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The DENNIS report is generally concerned with a criticism of the CP line for the past several years. Some aspects of the political developments in the United States, the integration of the Negro, labor matters and the CP's use of the PP in the past, are discussed. The report states that the Communist Party organizational work and responsibilities were to be put on an entirely new footing. Two copies of this report are enclosed for the Bureau and one copy to New York for information.

BROWN
END

- (U)
- 3 - Bureau (Encl. 2) (REGISTERED MAIL)
 - 2 - New York (Info) (Encl. 1) (REGISTERED MAIL)
 - 8 - Baltimore (100-13098)
100-19876 CINAL
100-764 [redacted]
100-12459 POLITICAL ACTIVITIES
100-12485 NEGRO QUESTION
100-12510 LABOR MATTERS
100-12541 PROGRESSIVE PARTY
[redacted]

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b7D

RL:cm
(13)

*one encl'd
in ser.*

AIR-TEL _____ X
Via Air Mail _____
AMSD _____
Regular Mail _____ X
Registered _____ X

100-95563-285

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 18 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

May 22, 1956

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

ALBANY(100-11574)

DIRECTOR, FBI

CP, USA
Albany Division
PARTY LINE
IS - C
(CINAL)

On 5/19/56 PSI [redacted] advised that [redacted] New York State CP Farm Commission) has in his possession a 12-14 page document signed by EUGENE DENNIS dated 4/28/56 dealing with present Party line and forthcoming national election. Report to be published in pamphlet form 6/1/56. It states IKE is far ahead for President and goes into how CP should try to influence outcome of other elective offices. Also states Party is to take new approach--to live within the law--to take a public position against violence--to state they are not out to overthrow the Government, then Government will have no case against the CP and its members and that this position is to be backed up by a speech by KHRUSHCHEV.

SOUFY

END

cc: 3 - Bureau(Airmail)(RM)
1 - Bureau(CP, USA, Political Activities)(RM)
1 - Bureau(EUGENE DENNIS)(RM)
1 - New York(CP, USA, Party Line)(RM)
1 - New York(EUGENE DENNIS)(RM)
1 - New York(CP, USA, Political Activities)(RM)
1 - Albany(100-11574)
1 - [redacted]
1 - Albany(100-5340) [redacted]
1 - Albany(EUGENE DENNIS)
1 - Albany(100-9567)(CP, USA, Political Activities)

TTW:mb
(13)

100 - 9567 - 286

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 24 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[redacted] [signature]

OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C40) Date: MAY 22 1956
FROM : SA [REDACTED] (#20-10)
SUBJECT: BRONX COUNTY CP
IS - C

Source: [REDACTED] (conceal identity)
Reliability: . Who has furnished reliable
information in the past
Agent to whom
furnished: SA [REDACTED]
Date of Activity: 5/3/56
Date Received 5/7/56
Original located: [REDACTED]

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In the attached report, the informant sets forth details of a meeting of Club 6 of the Hunts Point - Tremont - Boulevard Section, Bronx County CP, held on 5/3/56.

1 [REDACTED] (P & C) (#20-10)
1-NY 100-82191 [REDACTED] (#20-10)
1-NY 100-126833 [REDACTED] (#20-10)
1-NY 100-102292 [REDACTED] (#20-10)
1-NY 100-52710 [REDACTED] (#20-10)
1-NY 100-106044 [REDACTED] (#20-10)
1-NY 100-126781 [REDACTED] (#20-10)
1-NY 100-74560 (CP, USA, FUNDS) (#12-14)
1-NY 100-82265 [REDACTED] (#20-10)
1-NY 97-169 (DW and W) (#7-2)
1-NY 100-117752 [REDACTED] (#20-10)
1-NY 100-95583 (CP, USA, LINE) (#12-14)
1-NY 100-109045 [REDACTED] (#20-10)

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MFD:meg
(14)

100-95583-287

19

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 23 1956	
FBI-NEW YORK	

C O P Y

Date of report 5-6-56.

T.C.P.

The regular meeting of Club 6, of the Tremont, Hunts Point, Boulevard Section, Communist Party, Bx. County, was held at [] house [] on Thursday night May 3.

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The following members were in attendance at this meeting, [] and [] and later [] came in.

The agenda was as follows, dues, fund drive, [] and discussion on 20th Congress. The following people paid dues, [] through [] for 8 months Jan. through Aug. at 15¢ per. mo. \$1.20. and ten dollars for the fund drive.

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[] dues, from Feb. through Sept. at 15¢, \$1.20.

[] May through July 35¢ mo. \$1.05.

On the fund drive [] turned in \$10.00, [] \$15.00 and [] \$10.00.

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[] said that he will see me on Monday night in front of his house and give me some money then.

We discussed the condition of the club and the possibility of seeing as many people as we could to try and fulfill our quota as soon as possible I asked [] to visit [] (whose [] incidently is on the N.Y. City Police Dept.) and I asked [] to see if she can visit some of the people she knows and in the meantime I will see the other people in our club on their quotas too.

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On Press I reported that I was out a few nights ago and after visiting about 5 people I received one sub and two other turned in by [] making an approximate total of about 90 subs to date, this is far from the quota of 150 set for this Section.

The next point was the discussion and I began to read a list of questions which the Section had mimeographed,

att #1 to 100-95583-287

T.C.P.

these were questions which were asked at the two 20th Congress discussions held at the Hungarian restaurant a few weeks ago.

The first question was as follows: People asked: How do we know that Bulganin and Kruschev are right? What_s to stop some new Soviet leaders 10 years from now from accusing them of bad deeds? How should this be answered?

The answer to this question was as [] put it was how can we tell what will happen ten years from now, we cannot give an accurate answer nor truthful one, because we do not know what conditions we will have by then.

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The discussion then centered around Stalin; and the murder of the Jewish cultural leaders, and [] brought out a recent copy of JewishLife and asked me to read what it said about these Jewish Cultural leaders, and as he put it he cannot understand how the leadership of the Soviet Union ever consented to such a beastly crime against such well known men who can never be replaced.

[] read the article and it gave an account of who and what these men were and how shameful was the crime committed against such leaders of the Jewish people, and the great loss suffered by their murders, a loss which will be long remembered by peace loving people everywhere.

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[] and [] came in while [] was reading the article and at the completion of the article they gave their opinion of the mistakes made by the leaders of the Soviet Union at that time.

As to our hope for the future we must have faith in our leadership, otherwise we cannot hope for anything better than what happened during the Stalin regime.

[] pointed out that the 20th Congress brought out a good many points and although it brought out many harmful facts which in his opinion could have been softened

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T.C.P.

up a little, but nevertheless we know that now we can express our opinion, whether for or against and still be within our rights to do so.

It was suggested that this discussion be continued at our next meeting and in this regard [] had a book, Report of The Central Committee of The Communist Party of The Soviet Union To The 20th Congress by N.S. Khushchov. Price .35¢. He also had the April Political Affairs.

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On the fund drive, [] and I were to get together on Wednesday May 9 to go over the membership and work out ways and means to complete as soon as possible, she also wants to get familiar with the membership.

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We will meet at her house. The next meeting will be held on Monday night May 14, at [] house

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[] asked me to bring the fund drive money to [] tomorrow night because she has a station. He also asked me if I knew about the meeting at his house tomorrow night.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM * * * * * UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C1879) (12-14) Date: 5/24/56

FROM: SA [REDACTED] (#19)

SUBJECT: CP, USA, Dist. #2
GREENWICH VILLAGE SECTION
IS - C

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Identity of Informant: [REDACTED] who has furnished reliable information in the past.
(conceal)

1- [REDACTED] (P&C) (#19)
1-New York (100-26603-C42) (NY County CP) (12-14)
1-New York (100-128812) (CP, NYS Political Activities) (12-14)
1-New York (100-128814) (CP, NYS Organization) (12-14)
1-New York (100-128821) (CP, NYS Factionalism) (12-14)
1-New York (100-128314) (CP, NYS Funds) (12-14)
1-New York (100-95583) (CP line) (#19)
1-New York (100-95240) (LYL) (12-14)
1-New York (100-) (Fellowship of Reconciliation) (#1)
1-New York (100-128819) (CP NYS International Relations) (12-14)
1-New York (100-128217) ([REDACTED] LNY) (12-14)
1-New York (100-13019) ([REDACTED]) (12-14)
1-New York (100-105346) ([REDACTED]) (12-14)
1-New York (100-111587) ([REDACTED]) (12-14)
1-New York (100-124912) ([REDACTED]) (12-14)
1-New York (100-128243) ([REDACTED]) (12-14)
1-New York (100-89611) ([REDACTED]) (12-14)
1-New York (100-) ([REDACTED] LNU) (12-14)
1-New York (100-86066) ([REDACTED]) (#19)
1-New York (100-37330) (JOE KREVISKY) (12-14)
1-New York (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (#19)
1-New York (100-20789) (W.E.B. DU BOIS) (20-11)

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DR:mep

(23)

100-95583-288

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
MAY 25 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[REDACTED]

MEMO
NY 100-26603

Description of
Information:

Section meeting, Greenwich
Village Section, NY County
CP, 5/9/56.

Date Received:

5/10/56

Contacting Agent:

SA [] (oral)

Location:

Agent's notes, initialed
by informant, may be
located as an attachment
to []

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On Wednesday evening, 5/9/56, [] attended
a meeting of the Greenwich Village Section of the NY County
CP. It was held at the residence of []
[], NYC.

The following individuals were present at this
CP meeting:

1. [] (LNU), [] of the Greenwich
Village CP.

2. [] a club [] of the
Greenwich Village Section of the CP, who was elected []
[] of this Section meeting.

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3. [] who is [] of the Greek
Section of the CP. Informant stated that he believed that
the Greek Section was assigned to the Greenwich Village
Section of the CP as a Section, although it actually now
has the status of a CP Club.

4. [] who informant states is a Member-
Financial Director of the Greenwich Village CP.

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5. [] who informant stated is a
member of the ALP Club of the Greenwich Village CP, who
assists [], who is blind, in getting around to
various section and club meetings.

MEMO
NY 100-26603

6. [] Club Organizer of the ALP Club
of the Greenwich Village CP.

7. [] a member of the Greenwich Village
CP, who informant described as possibly a member of the Section
Staff.

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8. [] (LNU).

9. [] the Club Organizer of a small
group of the Greenwich Village CP.

It was stated that []
of the Greenwich Village CP Section, was unable to attend this
meeting inasmuch as he is confined to his home with the
measles,

[] stated the Greenwich Village CP Section
has already fulfilled 30% of their fund drive quota.

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[] determined that every Monday evening the
Section Staff of the Greenwich Village CP meets at the residence
of [] NYC. Monday evening
also has been designated as Financial Section evening at the
residence of []

[] stated she considers the following in-
dividuals members of the Section Staff of the Greenwich
Village CP:

[] LNU. []
[]
[] Section []
[] Membership []

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It was decided the next meeting of the Greenwich
Village CP Section will be held on Wednesday evening, 5/23/56,
in the residence of []
[] NYC.

MEMO
NY 100-26603

[] LNU announced that an important panel discussion, entitled "America's Road to Democracy and World Peace," will be held on 5/27/56, at Carnegie Hall, NYC. According to [] the following individuals will participate in this panel discussion:

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[]
A. J. MUSTE
W.E.B. DU BOIS
EUGENE DENNIS
NORMAN THOMAS.

It is noted that "Daily Worker" of 4/30/56, page one, column one, contains an article reflecting this panel discussion was announced on the previous date by the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

[] LNU stated this panel discussion represented the beginning of a new CP line. The CP will no longer reject other Socialists, but will take hands with all the forces of Socialism. [] stated all Section Members present should urge the club members to bring all their contacts to this panel discussion.

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[] and [] announced a meeting to be held on 5/25/56, by the Teenage Division of the NY LYL. This meeting was entitled Cultural Competition and Festival.

[] made available tickets for this competition and festival which she stated should be distributed by the Club Organizers to the club members. [] stated the section desired that the CP get out as many young people as possible to this meeting.

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[] stated that apparently [] LNU and [] [] had attended a recent NY County CP meeting, or had conferred with a CP National Functionary, for they seemed to

NY 100-26603

have a complete report of the recent enlarged National Committee Meeting of the CP, that was held in NYC on 4/28 to 5/1/56.

In reporting on the National Committee Meeting, [] stated that this was the first important full National Committee meeting held by the CP, since 1951. He described the meeting as having been of a very self-critical nature, and that there was serious discussion on every point of the CP's program. [] stated the main line of this CP National Committee Meeting was accepted unanimously, but only after long discussion and dissention.

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[] stated the "Daily Worker" had made a mistake in not finding a way to express the full discussion that occurred at this National Committee Meeting. The publication reported that there was unanimous agreement on the main Party line at this National Committee Meeting, but it would have been better if the publication had made public the full nature of the discussion, that led to the acceptance of the Party line, so people did not think the line was "mechanically" handed them as it has been in the past.

[] stated that as a result of this National Committee Meeting, and self-criticism, it has been determined that most of the Party's mistakes in the past, have been the result of "Left Sectarianism."

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[] stated the following, as a result of this National Committee Meeting, were considered to be the main errors in the Party in the past years:

1. The CP was wrong in accepting the theory of the imminence of war.
2. The CP was wrong in accepting the theory of the imminence of fascism.
3. We underestimated the democratic fighting spirit of the American people.

MEMO
NY 100-26603

4. We underestimated the radicalization of the American people, as evidenced by the formation of the 3rd Party. (We thought the American people had become radical enough to support a 3rd Party movement - and they were not ready.)

5. We help facilitate the split in the CIO by a left approach (The Left pushed political questions and issues and thereby split the rank and file union members, while we should have promoted unity).

6. The CP 1948 election line was a mistake, and remnants of it still preside.

On commenting regarding Democracy within the CP, [] stated that after expelling BROWDER, the CP did not sufficiently revamp the Party structure. He stated the Party must guarantee the right to dissent, and must be governed by majority rule. CP members must review the whole question of Democratic Centralism.

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[] stated the DENNIS report, which was presented at the enlarged National Committee Meeting, will be available by the end of May. The months of June, July, and August, will be spent by the CP in discussion of the DENNIS report in the CP Clubs. In September there will be an election conference for drawing up a draft resolution for the National Convention. From September to the end of December or early January, 1956, there will be discussion on the draft resolution, leading up to the National Convention.

[] commented that the CP, USA has erroneously tried to build a revolution in the United States on the pattern of the Russian revolution. The CP, USA will now attempt to build an American Party. Informant stated one method of building the American Party will be to revamp the language of the Communists. Informant recommended to the Section Committee that in the future the Party not refer to "the bosses" but

b7D

NY 100-26603

refer to "employees." Informant stated "When you walk through Harlem you talk about cops, not cossacks." Informant further commented that the CP will make references to the Boston Tea Party in the future, instead of to the Russian Revolution.

[] (LNU) stated STALIN was wrong because he advocated "a violent transition to Socialism." [] stated the goal of Socialism must be reached by peaceful and parliamentary means.

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[] stated that at this meeting it was the first time in informant's experience that mention had been made of the TROTSKY movement without hostility. [] LNU stated the changes in Russia were directed toward the progressive people; although TROTSKY was not right, at least he should have been heard.

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[] stated we should not bow and scrape for FOSTER as we did for STALIN. She said "This should be an American Party."

[] LNU stated the 20th Congress, CPSU, must be thoroughly discussed in the clubs. He stated the questions arising in the club as a result of the lessons of the 20th Congress, should be referred to the section. [] suggested the following questions and points be taken by the club organizers for discussion in their clubs:

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1. Socialists conscientious, particularly in relations to the middle class.
2. Relationship to mass organizations, and to the American people, especially in languages and in concepts.
3. The militancy of the American working class.
4. The parliamentary road to Socialism.
5. Is the new line a revision to Browderism?

MEMO
NY 100-26603

6. Criticism and self-criticism and Democratic centralism.

7. The role of monopoly, capitalism, and bossism.

8. Does capitalism have within itself an apparatus for self-correction?

9. Questions concerning the SU ([] commented that questions of this nature should always be referred back to the section).

10. The question of inevitability of war.

11. The individual differences in the paths to Socialism,

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[] stated that five clubs of the Greenwich Village CP Section would be meeting on Tuesday evening 5/15/56. He described two of these clubs as [] s and [] s Clubs.

MAY 1 1956

SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-240)

SA [REDACTED]

CP, USA, DISTRICT #2, NY DIVISION
Bronx County
IS-C

Source: [REDACTED] (protect by T symbol)
Reliability: Who has furnished reliable information in the past.
Date of Activity: Written report dated 4/2/56.
Date Received: 4/5/56
Received By: SA [REDACTED]
Location: [REDACTED]

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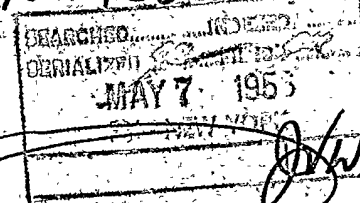
The information contained in this report should not be disseminated outside of the Bureau unless it is paraphrased.

The informant reported on recent activities of the CP in the North-West Section of the Bronx.

- 1 - [REDACTED] (P & C) (7-4)
- 1 - NY (100-120276) [REDACTED] (20-10)
- 1 - NY (100-82900) [REDACTED] (20-10)
- 1 - NY (100-4931) (CP, USA) (12-14)
- ① - NY (100-95583) (CP, LINE) (12-14)
- 1 - NY (100-128107) [REDACTED] (20-10)
- 1 - NY (100-71163) [REDACTED] (20-10)
- 1 - NY (100-55337) [REDACTED] (20-10)

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APB:ajc
(9)



Report

Communist Party U. S. A.
Activities

April 2, 1956
New York

I learned from [redacted] member of the North-West Section Committee (Bronx) of the Communist Party, that [redacted] isn't any more the organizer of the above mentioned section. [redacted] said that [redacted] was assigned by the party to some other party work and she said that she doesn't know what he was assigned to do. "You know, these days one doesn't ask questions."

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[redacted] told me that a committee of 6 will be in charge of the Bronx North-West Section of the Communist Party which is in accordance with the "idea of collective leadership, which our party is promoting since this idea was projected at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

Up till now there are only 3 in the section Committee:

[redacted] - the artist - [redacted] and

[redacted] told me that the Bronx County Committee is trying to find 3 more members for one section committee."

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[redacted] said that because of this reorganization she did not get the job of County educational director of the Communist party.

/s/ J. Morris

NY 100-25883-289

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C43) DATE: 5/15/56
FROM : SA JOSEPH T. O'LEARY (#20-11)
SUBJECT: CP, USA, DISTRICT #2,
KINGS COUNTY
IS-C

Identity of Informant: NY 1657-S*
Reliability: Furnished reliable information
in the past
Date Received: 3/29/56
Agent to Whom Furnished: SA HAROLD K. ALLEN, JR.
Location: NY 100-26603 Sub 31

section NY 1657-S* advised on 3/29/56, that a Kings County CP/organizers' meeting was held on that date at 1212 Kings Highway, Brooklyn, NY, a CP County meeting place, at which the information set forth hereinafter was obtained.

1 - NY 100-40394 ([REDACTED]) (#20-11)
1 - NY 100-8057 (EUGENE DENNIS) (#19)
1 - NY 100-98699 (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT) (#7-5)
1 - NY 100-91418 (JUNIOUS SCALES) (#7-6)
1 - NY 100-9365 (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (#19)
1 - NY 100-23825 (BENJAMIN DAVIS) (#7-5)
1 - NY 100-21421 (ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG) (#19)
1 - NY 100-16785 (JAMES JACKSON) (#19)
1 - NY 100-89816 (FRED FINE) (#19)
1 - NY 100-50983 (WILLIAM NORMAN) (#19)
1 - NY 100-107419 (EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE) (#7-2)
1 - NY 100-17923 (JOHN GATES) (#19)
1 - NY 100-63755 ([REDACTED]) (#12-14)
1 - NY 97-169 (DAILY WORKER) (#7-2)
1 - NY 100-13558 ([REDACTED]) (#20-11)
1 - NY 100-52959 ([REDACTED]) (#20-11)
1 - NY 100-79717 (CP, USA, POLITICAL ACTIVITIES) (#12-14)
1 - NY 100-95583 (CP LINE) (#12-14)
2 - NY 100-26603-C43
(1 - SUPERVISOR [REDACTED])

JTO: jel
(20)

100-95583-290

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
12-14 MAY 15 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

MEMO
NY 100-26603-C43

At the beginning of the meeting an unidentified male discussed the various sections of the Smith Act and explained that it was the Conspiracy Section under which EUGENE DENNIS and the other members of the National Board of the CP were convicted. This individual pointed out that it was under the Membership Section of the Smith Act that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT and JUNIUS SCALES have been convicted and under which WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, EUGENE DENNIS, BENJAMIN DAVIS and another unspecified member of the National Board of the CP were indicted.

[redacted] was in charge of the instant meeting and pointed out that although it was difficult for the assembled comrades to discuss the Smith Act, it would be wise to have several comrades well versed in the provisions of the Smith Act so that they will be able to discuss it at any time.

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A male individual, identified only as [redacted] (ph), suggested that the committee should attempt to get information into the editorials of the "New York Post" concerning the Smith Act and accompanied by protest letters by the committee. This individual indicated that this would appeal to some of the liberal readers of the "New York Post."

A male individual, identified only as [redacted] (ph), indicated that he would like to urge the following points:

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1. That the section committees discuss the Smith Act.
2. That they draw up a list of individuals to be visited.
3. That they organize the visiting.

MEMO
NY 100-26603-C43

4. That the meetings should be arranged under some club so as to include non-Party people.
5. To include the ALP and to invite individuals such as GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY, ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG, JAMES JACKSON, FRED FINE, and WILLIAM NORMAN to speak on the Smith Act.

The unidentified male individual, referred to as [] (ph), stated that the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee would probably undertake a campaign to repeal the Smith Act and that they are discussing delegations to congressmen, circulations of all organizations, and seeking advice from other organizations concerning the repeal of the Smith Act.

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[] stated that the question of the repeal of the Smith Act should be discussed at section committee meetings and that the section organizers should be included among the committee that do the actual visiting of individuals with whom the question of repealing the Smith Act is discussed.

[] then introduced [] as the guest speaker from the State Committee of the CP.

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[] then proceeded to speak on the padlocking of the "Daily Worker" and its relation to the "Daily Worker" circulation as well as Party registration. [] pointed out that the Republican and Democratic organizations in the US have never paid taxes since they are political parties and that the CP in the US has been in existence for many years and until now the fact that it never paid any taxes has never made an issue before.

[] indicated that, although the seizure of the CP Headquarters and the "Daily Worker" do present

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MEMO
NY 100-26603-C43

items of propaganda value in favor of the CP, the seizure of the financial operations of the CP and the "Daily Worker" have presented very serious problems.

[] stated that the CP registration has been in progress since approximately 10/1/55, and will end in a few weeks during which time the CP leaders are attempting to meet with as many Party sections, both in industry and community, as possible, to ascertain the percentage of registration. [] stated that the CP has reached the 85 per cent point on a city and state wide basis, but the situation was not satisfactory. b6 b7C

[] commented that the East NY Section welcomed back [] (ph) as the new section organizer and indicated that he had obtained 17 registrations. b6 b7C

[] introduced the former organizer of Brooklyn, [] who is currently the circulation manager of "The Worker."

[] then introduced [] who announced that a state wide press conference would be held on 4/7/56.

The following phonetic first names were mentioned during the course of the meeting:

[]
[] (of East NY Section)
[]
[]
[]
[]
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[]

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MEMO
NY 100-26603-C43

A photographic surveillance was maintained at 1212 Kings Highway, Brooklyn, NY, on 3/29/56, and photographs of those in attendance were obtained. Efforts are being undertaken to effect the identification of these individuals. Photographs of individuals identified will be disseminated to the respective main case files and photographs of unidentified individuals will be maintained in NY 100-26603-1A6509 pending identification.

5/24/56

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL-REGISTERED

SAN FRANCISCO (100-30717)

WASHINGTON, FBI

CP, USA, PARTY LEAD, ID-3. CRIM

NY 1125-SV advised on 5/22/56 that at a CP State Secretariat, at which a recent Los Angeles County Board meeting was discussed, WILLIAM SCHWARTZMAN, CHAIRMAN, CP, District 13, who attended this LA meeting, revealed that this meeting was replete with observations from all attending about errors made by the Party in the last ten years.

SCHWARTZMAN observed that they ended up by saying that Communism had no validity and this will have to be disputed. He continued that the fact is that all the Parties in the World have made terrible mistakes and the biggest Party has made some of the biggest mistakes. He continued that this does not challenge the validity of Marxism and in America the validity is not challenged, it is just that the CP has not yet learned how to apply it to the American scene. If they want to question the validity of Marxism, they shouldn't remain in the Marxist Party, and perhaps they could be happy in the Democratic Party or a liberal party, or something else.

1-Bureau (100-3114)
1-New York; 1-Los Angeles; 1-San Diego; 1-Honolulu (ALL 100-1125)
1-SP 100-30717
1-SP 100-27210 (CP, IMMEDIATE RELATIONS)
1-SP 100-11152 (CRIM.)
CASH:12-1
(10)

100-95582-292

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
MAY 26 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

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OFFICE MEMORANDUM * UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-16)

DATE: JUN 6 1956

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (100-442)

REGISTERED MAIL

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
IS-SWP

[] on May 1 and May 10, 1956, furnished written reports concerning a report on the Socialist Workers Party's (SWP) National Committee Plenum held April 20-22, 1956, at New York City, which was presented by [] Boston Branch SWP Organizer, during the course of a weekly meeting of the Boston Branch, SWP, held April 26, 1956, at the Aurora Club, 42 Maverick Square, East Boston, Massachusetts.

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Informant noted that [] an SWP National Committee member, had attended this Plenum.

AVS:IT

2-Bureau (100-16)(RM)

17-New York (RM)

(SWP;100-4013)

[] 100-

[] 100-

[] 100-

[] 100-

[] 100-

(FARRELL DOBBS;100-

[] 100-

(JAMES P. CANNON;100-

(JOSEPH HANSEN;100-

(WILLIAM Z. FOSTER;100-

(JOHN GATES;100-

(CP, USA AND PERTINENT SUBDIVISIONS;100-4931)

100-26663

100-87211

✓100-95583 #19

100-86624

7-Boston (100-442)

(CP, FACTIONALISM;100-20787)

(CP LINE;100-24107)

(CP, USA, DISTRICT #1;100-7908)

(CP, INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS;100-20785)

(26)

100-95583-293

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FBI - NEW YORK	

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BS 100-1442

According to the Informant, []'s report on April 26, 1956, covered "An Analysis of the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party, USSR," which was presented at the Plenum on April 20, 1956, by the SWP's National Chairman, JAMES P. CANNON, and the "organizational" topics discussed during the Plenum.

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I. JAMES P. CANNON'S ANALYSIS OF THE TWENTIETH CONGRESS OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY, USSR

A. BASIS AND AIMS OF THE NEW POLITICAL ORIENTATION

TRINOR reported that it was CANNON's contention that the sudden and complete switch in the international political orientation of the Soviet Bureaucracy at the recent Twentieth Congress should be credited to the working class in the Soviet Union "for exerting mass pressure against the continuing Stalinist policies of the present ruling clique and for demanding a return to the revolutionary Socialist policies of Leninism." CANNON stated that "Back to Lenin" became the key to the Twentieth Congress and that this resulted in a flood of concessions to the Russian working class from the Bureaucracy, which, CANNON contended, fears above all a second 1917 "October Revolution."

According to CANNON, the Bureaucracy's concessions to the Russian working class included:

1. A promised seven-hour working day;
2. The rule of and by a collective leadership in place of the one-man dictatorial rule created and continued by STALIN until his death;
3. Greater economic freedom--more consumer goods;
4. Increased social benefits;
5. A promised discontinuation of political purges and the rehabilitation of some of STALIN's victims;
6. The promised purge of STALIN and Stalinism and a return to LENIN and Leninism.

CANNON also reported that the "lower rungs of the Bureaucracy" (minor Bureaucrats) had been a secondary influence on the decisions of the Twentieth

BS 100-442

Congress, and they too gained concessions to a limited extent from the ruling clique which included:

1. Assurances against purges, loss of jobs and loss of social status;
2. Preferred military training--officers' schools and the like;
3. The granting of educational advantages to the children, such as private and/or exclusive schools;
4. Greater economic and social advantages.

According to CANNON, these above concessions to the minor Bureaucrats added up to "the perpetuation of the Stalinist-created caste system in the USSR."

With regard to the aim or the direction of this new orientation, [] reported that CANNON has interpreted it as being "solely" and "strictly" a domestic orientation, aimed at pacifying and appeasing the working class and the minor Bureaucrats within the Soviet Union. CANNON further contended that the purge of STALIN, the return to LENIN, the collectivized leadership and the increased economic and social benefits allegedly will not alter the Bureaucracy's pre-Congress foreign policy, nor will it change the trend of its international relations.

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According to CANNON, the pro-STALIN and the politically opportunistic Stalinist leadership, posing as a democratized collective leadership, will continue to call for "peaceful co-existence" with Capitalist nations; appease and aid world Capitalism by "beheading" any colonial or workers revolution anywhere in the world; call for "united fronts" with the Social Democrats and pro-Capitalist Parties for the purpose of preserving its own rule over the Soviet masses and perpetuating its own Stalinist caste system within the Socialist Soviet Union.

B. EFFECT OF THIS NEW ORIENTATION ON THE COMMUNIST PARTIES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

[] reported that, according to CANNON, the turnabout of the Kremlin leaders in purging STALIN has created confusion and havoc in the Communist Parties throughout the world but that as events related to this "crisis

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of Stalinism" still are occurring, no definite analysis can yet be made concerning the final effect this new orientation will have on Stalinist organizations throughout the world. CANNON noted, however, that the "demoralization" of all supporters of Stalinism is considered to be a certainty and that only the degree or the ultimate extent of this "demoralization" is in doubt.

CANNON stated that this new orientation is considered to be the most profound crisis in the history of Stalinism. He stated that it is time for the Trotskyists everywhere to open up a sustained propaganda barrage aimed at the complete demoralization of all "hard-core" and "old-guard" Stalinist elements and the re-educating of potential Trotskyist recruits from among the younger, less cynical and more militant Stalinist elements.

In the United States, according to CANNON, the SWP will bombard all known Communist Party members and other pro-Stalinist thinkers with free copies of "The Militant" each and every week as part of the Trotskyist propaganda educational and demoralization program. He noted that an unlimited supply of "The Militant" will be available at the National Office each week, that copies can be obtained free of charge by all branches and that each issue of "The Militant" during the coming period will feature articles and stories aimed at the demoralization of all American Stalinists and their sympathizers.

In addition, SWP members will challenge Stalinists on the floor of the latter's own public meetings to harass, demoralize and educate rank and file members of the Communist Party.

In connection with the harassment of Stalinists at their public meetings, Informant noted that [] had briefly mentioned that recently members of the SWP's New York Local had taken the floor during a Stalinist-sponsored public meeting in New York City. Informant advised that [] had furnished no further specific details concerning this event.

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CANNON reported that the goal of the American Trotskyists in waging this educational propaganda battle against the Stalinists is to smash completely the organizational apparatus of the Communist Party, USA; to demoralize and drive out of the Party the rank and file personnel and to render its

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leadership impotent and discredited in the eyes of the American working class. He stated that if this goal can be attained, the Communist Party will then be eliminated as the one and only major challenger of the Trotskyists in the struggle for the leadership of the American working class in the coming social revolution against the United States Capitalist class.

C. REPORTED FRACTIONAL SPLIT IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.

According to [] GANNON claimed that the purge of STALIN has opened up a factional struggle within the leadership of the American Communist Party and that WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, the Communist Party's National Chairman, allegedly heads the "pro-STALIN" faction which opposes the purge of STALIN and the new orientation of the Twentieth Congress. According to GANNON, the FOSTER faction is reportedly comprised of "old-guard" and veteran Stalinists who are incapable of surviving or submitting to this latest twist of denouncing STALIN whose policies they followed for thirty years.

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GANNON stated that JOHN GATES, reportedly the Editor of the "Daily Worker," allegedly is the leader of the more powerful faction which reportedly includes a major portion of the "hard-core" Stalinists plus the great majority of the younger element and which supports the new orientation of the present Soviet regime and is in agreement with the purging of STALIN. The GATES faction's main source of strength is its reported control of the Communist Party's "Daily Worker" which allows that faction to propagandize the Communist Party's rank and file membership against the FOSTER position.

According to GANNON, the GATES faction like the Soviet ruling clique favors the "peaceful co-existence" program, the denunciation of STALIN and the participation of the Communist Party in "united front" coalitions with the Social Democrats and other political groups. According to GANNON, this faction believes that these factors will lead to the easing of "reactionary pressures" against the American Communist Party and will bring about the return to legality of the Communist Party as a bonafide political party. GANNON stated that the primary goal of the GATES faction is to regain social respectability in order that it might consolidate its forces and once again become a dominating influence among American workers

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with the ultimate intention of gaining control of the trade union set-up.

In connection with the above, [] reported that on April 20, 1956, the SWP's National Committee officially endorsed the GANNON analysis of the current stage of Stalinism as the SWP's official political orientation on this subject.

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II. ORGANIZATIONAL TOPICS

A. NATIONAL FUND DRIVE

[] reported that it had been decided to hold a three-month national fund drive to run from May 15, 1956 to August 15, 1956, with a goal of approximately \$15,000 and that each branch's quota, in general, will be similar to their quota for the "Publication Fund Campaign," which ran from October 15, 1955 to January 31, 1956.

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[] announced that the National Committee had hoped to postpone this coming fund drive until September, 1956, but "emergency" use of the "Publications Fund," the cost of the Party's 1956 election campaign and the added expense of bombarding the American Stalinists with propaganda via free "Militants" for an unlimited period makes it necessary to begin this fund drive immediately. He stated that the National Committee urged the branches to fulfill their quotas as early as possible in the campaign.

[] defined the "emergency" use of the "Publications Fund" as payment of hospital bills, treatments and/or operations performed on such top Party functionaries as [] (coronary thrombosis), [] (liver disorder), [] (ulcers) and [] (heart condition).

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[] noted also that [] has been forced to limit his Party activities recently due to the recurrence of a chronic back ailment.

In connection with the scheduled three-month fund drive, Informant advised that during the course of the Boston Branch SWP meeting on April 26, 1956, the members of the Boston Branch announced their individual pledges for this drive, and on the basis of the total amount pledged, formally

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approved an over-all branch quota of \$500.

B. SWP'S PRINTING EQUIPMENT

[] reported that the offset printing equipment obtained by the San Francisco Branch within the past year has been transferred to and set up in an unannounced location in Lower Manhattan at the total cost of approximately \$3,000 to the Party.

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He stated that the San Francisco Trotskyist (unnamed), who allegedly donated this offset equipment to the SWP, also supervised its transfer from San Francisco to New York City and will remain there to assist other Party personnel in its operation.

[] announced that the acquisition and transfer of this offset equipment means that all SWP publications, including leaflets, pamphlets, campaign literature and the "Fourth International," but excluding "The Militant," will be printed and published on these offset presses by Party personnel only.

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"The Militant," according to [] will continue for the time being to be published at its current non-Party location (address not furnished).

Informant noted that [] made no mention as to the effect this offset equipment would have on the "Pioneer Publishers, Inc."

In connection with the above, Informant on May 10, 1956, orally advised that on May 3, 1956, the Boston Branch, SWP, received a letter from the National Headquarters dated April 26, 1956, concerning the "National Committee Plenum Publications Report" by []. According to the letter, [] in his report stated that the cost of setting up the SWP's offset equipment in New York was \$970, that an additional \$1,102 had been expended to purchase one "vari-typer" and that the SWP plans to publish copies of the following in the near future:

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1. JAMES P. CANNON's "IWW" - In pamphlet form;
2. JAMES P. CANNON's "First Ten Years of American Communism";
3. JAMES P. CANNON's series of articles, "Notebook of An Agitator" - In pamphlet or booklet form;

BS 100-442

4. Additional copies of []'s [] pamphlet, "Desegregation! Labor's Stake in the Fight for Negro Equality";
5. []'s article concerning the Progressive Party in pamphlet form;
6. An article concerning "Plekhanov," which has appeared in past issues of the "Fourth International."

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[] further reported that the British Trotskyists have requested the SWP to collaborate with them in the publishing of LEON TROTSKY's "The Revolution Betrayed" for distribution in both England and the United States. According to [] there are currently no copies of this book available in England and only a limited supply is available in the United States. It is not known to the Informant whether the SWP will comply with the request of the British Trotskyists.

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Informant further advised that according to this April 26, 1956 National Headquarters letter, the first shipment of a 200-page excerpt of []'s book, "Negros on the March," has been received from England and that this book is available to the SWP branches at \$1.20 per copy. Informant noted that the Boston Branch has ordered ten copies of this book and that the orders are made through "Pioneer Publishers" of New York.

C. "THE MILITANT" AND "FOURTH INTERNATIONAL"

[] reported that "The Militant" currently is being published at a monthly deficit to the Party of approximately \$300, and that despite alleged increases in circulation figures throughout the United States, the deficit incurred from the publishing of each quarterly issue of the "Fourth International" is approximately \$325.

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D. 1956 ELECTION PLANS

[] reported that FARRELL DOBBS, the Party's National Secretary, will be its candidate for the office of President of the United States and that [] will be the Party's Vice-Presidential candidate. He stated that the SWP will hold a "Nominating (proxy) Convention" sometime in June to nominate officially the Party's candidates for these national

BS 100-442

offices in order to qualify, and/or to receive official recognition, for [] and [] as the legally and officially-nominated candidates for public offices of a recognized, full-fledged political party. [] stated that by holding this "Nominating Convention," the SWP will qualify its candidates to obtain free radio and television time equal to that allotted by the networks to the candidates of the two major political parties.

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E. SWP'S SEVENTEENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

[] reported that the SWP will hold its bi-annual National Convention sometime in January or February, 1957, rather than in late November, 1956, as previously announced by him.

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Informant advised that [] made no mention as to whether any decision has been made concerning the specific time and place of this convention.

F. ANTI-STALINIST PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN

(Set out above under "I".)

G. 1956 ELECTION TASKS

[] reported that the tasks to be performed by the SWP with respect to the 1956 election campaign will be:

1. Signature collection campaigns to qualify Party candidates for state ballots;
2. Campaigning for local and national Party candidates by means of public meetings, leaflet distributions, press, television and radio coverage and mailings.

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III. NATIONAL COMMITTEE PLENUM PERSONNEL

According to the Informant, [] during his report mentioned the following National Committee members and/or alternates as having been in attendance at the National Committee Plenum held April 20-22, 1956:

JAMES P. CANNON
FARRELL DOBBS

BS 100-442

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] further mentioned that [REDACTED] had been present at the National Committee social held on April 21, 1956.

In the event further information concerning the above comes to the attention of this Informant, interested offices will be appropriately advised.

It is noted that by separate communication the San Francisco Division has been furnished the information concerning the transfer of the offset printing equipment.

[REDACTED] has furnished reliable information in the past and is a highly sensitive source in the Boston Division. Accordingly, information furnished by this Informant must be handled with the utmost discretion.

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OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603:c40)

DATE: 6/4/56

FROM: SA [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: BRONX COUNTY CP
IS-C

Source: [REDACTED] (conceal identity)
 Reliability: Who has furnished reliable information in the past
 Agent to whom furnished: SA [REDACTED]
 Date of activity: May 10, 1956
 Date received: May 14, 1956
 Original located: [REDACTED]

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In the attached report, the informant sets forth the details of a club organizers meeting of the Hunts Point, Tremont, Boulevard Section, Bronx County CP Club Organizers held on 5/10/56

1- [REDACTED] (P & C) (#20-10)
 1-NY (100-62881) [REDACTED] (#20-10)
 1-NY (100-76253) [REDACTED] (#20-10)
 1-NY (100-106044) [REDACTED] (#20-10)
 1-NY (100-128437) [REDACTED] (#20-10)
 1-NY (100- [REDACTED] LNU) (#20-10)
 1-NY (100-82900) [REDACTED] (#20-10)
 1-NY (100-52710) [REDACTED] (#20-10)
 1-NY (100-109045) [REDACTED] (#20-10)
 1-NY (100- [REDACTED] LNU) Member Bx. CP, Re NY 3598) (#20-10)
 1-NY (100-95583) (CP. USA LINE) (#12-14)
 1-NY (100-72964) [REDACTED] (#20-10)
 1-NY (100-83976) [REDACTED] (#20-10)
 1-NY (100-128793) (CITY WIDE MADISON SQUARE GARDEN CR RALLY, NY (#7-2)
 1-NY (100-13480) (JOE STAROBIN)

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b7DMFD:alg
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SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
JUL 4 1956	
[REDACTED]	

19

C O P Y

Date of report May 11, 1956

T. C. P.

I attended a Hunts Point, Tremont, B ulevard
Section Communist Party, club organizers meeting, on
Thursday night, May 10, at [redacted] home, [redacted]
[redacted]

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The following club organizers were present [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

[redacted] organizational
Sec. and organizer respectively, [redacted] financial
Sec. and another young woman by the name of [redacted]

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The meeting did not get under way until nine
o'clock, and [redacted] proposed the following agenda

1- discussion continuation, from last club organizers
meeting on the recent Twentieth Congress of the Soviet
Union.

2- Fund drive

3- Announcements

[redacted] said that he had to leave early because
he was going to work to night, but before he goes he would
like to speak his peace first.

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But we should appoint a chairman for this meeting
before going ahead, and after a few minutes [redacted] proposed
[redacted] as [redacted] and the others agreed unanimously on this
proposition

[redacted] read the first point on the agenda and asked
for discussion and [redacted] spoke first he read from prepared
notes and said that his remarks were his own opinion and
not to be misconstrued as a report

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He said that the recent happenings in the leader-

att #1 ~~12~~ 100-95583-294 ↑

T. C. P.

ships of the Soviet Union have shocked the whole world, and more so our Party here in the U.S

It is an indication of weakness, rather than strength, in the leaderships of the Soviet Union for such a thing to happen, and the responsibility rests with the present leadership as well.

It has been a bad practice in our Party here, that the right to dissent with Party Policy has never been urged upon us and this in his opinion was a weakness we all shared in

[] pointed out that the structure of our Party must undergo a serious change and even to the point of dissolving our forces and establishing another organization which will follow along the same Marxist-Leninist lines with the ultimate goal of Socialism and also a little more political minded and most of all the right to dissent whenever possible

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This would not be in the form of an association, as the Communist-Political Association was during the Browder period or another organization but one similar to the one we now have, but rather again one in which the broad masses can and will participate in discussions more freely and with fear of reprisals and harassment by the leaders of said organization.

As it is now Policy is set from the top leadership and passed on to us with no alternative but to carry out this directive and not having a say in the making of said Policy.

This policy must be carried out even though constructive criticism is always expected of us.

[] gave a few concrete examples to stress his points tying in the many other problems which face us at the present time the Negn question, have we been

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T. C. P.

following the right Policy in connection with the Negro question, as outlined all these years.

If the present leadership of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union accuses the leadership under Stalin then how can we be sure of what they say to be true.

[] expresses himself that the American Communist Party should be an independent Party separate from the Soviet Union as to Policy making.

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We its members should formulate policy just as a union which votes to increase its dues, true the main body makes recommendations for an increase and the general membership vote on it, it takes the whole memberships vote to pass such a proposal.

[]'s main gripe was that we have the right to dissent, and he quoted an article by [] in the Daily of a day or two ago in which she expresses herself and because her views did not meet with the approval of the C. P. leadership, because she disagreed with some Policy she has been kept apart from the Party.

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Another case is the case of Joe Starobin who used to write articles for the Daily, he did not see eye to eye with the leadership of the Communist Party and expressed himself on many occasions and because of this he is now out of the Party as of 1954 or 1955.

This [] knew for a fact and there are hundreds more who at one time or another did not agree with Party Policy and have dropped out completely.

[] in talking of establishing another organization pointed out that there are many Socialist minded people such as the two Socialist mayors we have in the U.S. [] and another, who would really contribute

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T. C. P.

to the building of our Party.

[] finished his talk at ten o'clock and then excused himself because he had to go to work.

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[] opened the floor for further discussion and [] spoke, she was very angry and hurt that [] should submit a talk of that nature and could not conceive of abolishing the C.P. in the U.S. and establishing another.

She was very angry that [] should leave in such a hurry and leave us hanging in mid air on such an important discussion but she nevertheless gave her own brief account of the situation.

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She had many questions which she wanted to have answered but [] remarks complicates matters to a point which makes it more confusing and she suggest that this discussion continue on to the next meeting, at which time [] may be able to supply us with answers to these questions.

The remarks of all the others followed the same pattern and they too were amazed and taken aback by what Gene said.

[] in his remarks quoted Joseph Starobin's book "Paris to Peking", the article right to dissent pg. 50 as one which we should adhere to.

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[] was also very critical of []'s proposal that we break up our Party and form another, this was a very uncalled for remark at a time like this and she did not think that it would work out, but instead we must discuss this thoroughly and correct our mistakes not only the top but also on the lower levels of our Party.

T. C. P.

[] said that a very important point which no one has spoken on all during this discussion, was the question of Peace, and in her opinion this is the fundamental basis for all our work because without a true peace we cannot function effectively.

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Let us forget what [] said or implied, that in her opinion is not important and even though she does not agree with him, the question of Peace in the world is the one upper most in the minds of everybody and should be discussed.

After this lengthy discussion in which everyone participated, [] asked [] to give a report on the fund drive which she preceeded to do, as of today we have in a total of \$1,694 or a 27% of the total.

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[] asked each club organizer to give an approximate sum of money or % by the first week in June when it is supposed to be over.

The response was not so good because as [] put it she cannot see her way clear to raise the 400 which her club is assessed. She would like a reduction in her quota.

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[] suggested a year round sustaining fund, payable at each meeting with the dues thus eliminating the hardships of year round one or two month fund drive and then often it extends further than that.

[] said that the Staff suggested that but let us get through with this one first and then if we want collect dues and fund drive money at the same time.

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It was agreed that the Section raise 50% by June.

On the last point on the agenda, [] read the

T. C. P.

following announcements-

1- May 19 a Bronx N.A.A.C.P. leadership conference at 1258 Boston Road.

2- May 24 Civil Rights rally at Madison Sq. Garden.

3- May 27, at Carnegie Hall a debate by Eugene Dennis and two other including Dr. Du Bois.

4- The Morton Sobell rally on Tuesday May 15, at Carnegie Hall.

Tickets are available for these rallies and we are urged to attend them.

A letter was read by [] which was given to him by [] that the Tenants Council on rents and housing was to give a dinner to [] after years of faithful service, at 987 So. Blvd. on Wed. May 23.

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She has to give up her position because of the illness of her child.

The next meeting of the club organizers would be held on May 25, at [] house []

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[] also asked that we approve a resolution passed by the Section Staff that the Section elect three people one on the Section Staff one from this gathering here tonight and another person to set up the program which is to be presented to the County Convention in June.

One of the people who the Section had in mind was [] the club organizer, was [] and another to be appointed later.

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T. C. P.

[] had literature which he distributed after the meeting and [] collected fund drive money.

After the meeting [] and [] left before me, when I got into my car I waited until they passed me and [] got into a car a late model [] license number
[]

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b7C

During the course of [] remarks, he said that out of a membership of about 1200 in Bx. County only 200 are in mass organizations both right and left.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK

DATE: 6/6/56

FROM : [REDACTED] SA (100-26603-C40) (20-10)

SUBJECT: CP, USA District #2
Bronx County
IS-C

Source [REDACTED] (Protect by T symbol)

Reliability Who has furnished reliable
information in the pastb6
b7C
b7D

Date of Activity 4/19/56

Date Received 4/27/56

Received By SA [REDACTED]

Location [REDACTED]

The information contained in this report should not be disseminated outside of the Bureau unless it is paraphrased.

1- [REDACTED] P&C) (7-4)
 1-NY 100-26603-C320 (Kingsbridge Sect.) (20-10)
 1-NY 100-113164 [REDACTED] (20-10)
 1-NY 100-113156 [REDACTED] (20-10)
 1-NY 100-64211 [REDACTED] (20-10)
 1-NY 100-75418 (SAM COHEN) (20-10)
 1-NY 100-123930-1 [REDACTED] LNU) (20-10)
 1-NY 100-83432 [REDACTED] (20-10)
 1-NY 100-89402 [REDACTED] LNU) (20-10)
 1-NY 100- [REDACTED] Bronx,
 NY) (20-10)
 1-NY 100- [REDACTED] (20-10)
 1-NY 100-25880 [REDACTED] (20-10)
 1-NY 100-22725 [REDACTED] (20-10)
 1-NY 100-107111 (National Committee to Secure Justice
 In Rosenberg Case) (7-2)
 1-NY 100-26603 (CP, District #2) (12-14)
 1-NY 100-128724 (The Bronx Independent) (20-10)
 1-NY 100-26797 (JOHN FRANCIS NOTO) (7-5)
 1-NY 100-74560 (CP, USA Funds) (12-14)
 1-NY 100-95583 (CP, USA Line) (12-14)
 1-NY 100-47142 (United May Day Committee) (7-2)

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b7DAPH:PEH
(21)

100-95583-295

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 8 1956	

12-14

MEMO
NY 100-26603-C40

The informant reported on a meeting of the CP
Club of the North-West Section of the Bronx held on 4/19/56
at the apartment of [] and []
[] Bronx, NY.

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Report

April 25, 1956
New York

Communist Party U.S.A.
Activities

A meeting of the Kingsbridge Club of the Communist Party of the North-West Section of the Bronx (N.Y.) was held on April 19th, 1956 at the apartment of [] at [], Bronx, N.Y.

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The following members were present at the meeting: [] (he is [], a printer; resides at [], Bronx). Sam Cohen, Mr. and Mrs. [] and [] is a businessman). At this meeting I learned the full name of [] resides at [], Bronx, NY. [] of the [] Bronx, NY; his full name is []

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[] (he) was [] of the meeting. [] told the meeting that the Bronx County of the Communist Party will have a meeting on April 27th, 1956 at the Bainbridge headquarters of the ALP at Bainbridge Ave., Bronx, NY on the subject of the 20th congress of the CPSU. The speaker will be [] or []. She said that "only party members or people closely connected with the party will be admitted." She asked the members of this club to attend the April 27th meeting.

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[] also announced that there will be a Morton Sobell meeting at Carnegie Hall in NY on May 15, 1956. She said that the NY State Committee of the CP is asking the party members to attend this meeting and to "mobilize members of mass organizations and trade unions to come to the

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Att 1 to 100 90-583-295

Morton Sobell meeting". [] (she is the club organizer) also announced that on May 4th, 1956, there is going to be a meeting at the Crestmore Manner, Bronx, NY, on the question of "The Bronx Independent". She said that at this meeting "we will discuss the questions of raising the circulation of the Bronx Independent and of getting funds for this important Bronx paper, which is designed to serve as an arm of the party".

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[] told the meeting that he "works on the buissnes end" of the Bronx Independent and he asked the members to give him names of buissnes people for the purpose of getting from them ads for the paper. He made an appointment with Burt "to meet and see what we could do to get ads" and the chairman advised him to contact for this purpose []. [] told the meeting that "comrade Noto (in Buffalo, NY) was found guilty in his Smith Act trial. There is an urgent need to raise bail for him. His wife is going to have a baby and she is distressed and in a very nervous condition". She asked the members to try to raise money for Noto's bail fund, "50 dollars, 100 dollars, any amount we can raise. The request for Noto's bail money comes from the State Committee. There is also an urgent request for donations for the Noto family."

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The members promissed to "try" to raise money for bail for Noto. Donations were made by [] \$10.00, [] \$5.00, [] \$10.00, Sam Cohen \$3.00.

The educational part of the meeting consisted of the discussion of Stalin and the 20th Congress of the CPSU which was in most parts a repetition of the discussion on the same subject at the previous meeting of the club on which I submitted a report. [] brought out the point that "we should analize the positive achievements made on the road to Communism under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union than talk about the negative role of Stalin

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when he became engrossed in his personal cult". He said that Stalin played an important role in the "Communist revolution in the Soviet Union and in the strenghteing of the world Communist movement. A negative part in his personality was developed in his latter years but the CP of the Soviet Union, it seems to me, kept a close watch on Stalin and there wasn't much damage done. At the 20th Congress the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its present leadership formulated new policies for the Soviet Union and for the Communist parties of the world to follow. These policies will lead the Soviet Union to Communism and the world to peace and socialism. The important thing for us, American Communists, is to study the discussions and formulations of the 20th Congress because they will be for years to come our guide in our daily struggle for a Socialist America".

[redacted] said that "our Communist Party for the last few years neglected the mention of the main idea of our party namely the struggle for socialism in the United States. Socialism became something so far removed from us that we neglected to even talk about it. I do hope that the 20th Congress will awaken our party to again take up the struggle for socialism as something to be achieved in this country during our lifetime".

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It was decided to hold the next meeting on May 3rd, 1956 at the apartment of [redacted] Bronx, NY. On the question of the May Day meeting at Union Sq. on April 30th, everyone present said that they will come and bring with them friends, neighbors or co-workers.

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J. Morris

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TC: SAC, NEW YORK

DATE: 6/6/56

FROM: [REDACTED] SA (100-80635)(12-14)

SUBJECT: CP, USA JEWISH ACTIVITIES
IS-C

Source: [REDACTED] (Protect by T symbol)
Reliability: Who has furnished reliable
information in the past.
Date of Activity: 4/25/56.
Date Received: 4/30/56.
Received by: SA [REDACTED]
Location: [REDACTED].

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The information contained in this report should
not be disseminated outside of the Bureau unless it is
paraphrased.

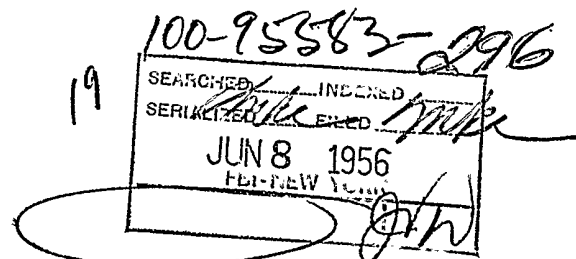
The informant reported on a conference of Jewish
Communist leaders which took place on 4/25/56 at the
Academy Hall in NY.

1- [REDACTED] (P&C)(7-4)
1-NY 100-76567 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1-NY 100-88297 (CP, USA CULTURAL ACTIVITIES)(12-14)
1-NY 100-8057 (GENE DENNIS)(7-5)
1-NY 100-64391 [REDACTED] (20-13)
1-NY 100-4931 (CP, USA)(12-14)
1-NY 100-69927 [REDACTED] (20-11)
1-NY 100-7918 (P. NOVICK)(20-10)
1-NY 100-21 (MORNING FREIHEIT)(7-2)
1-NY 100-95583 (CP, USA LINE)(12-14)
1-NY 100-14226 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1-NY 100-54651 (CP, USA NATIONAL GROUPS)(12-14)

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APH:EEC
(13)

file



Report

Jewish Communists Activities

April 30, 1956
New York

[redacted], member of the Kingsbridge Section of the Communist Party, told me that the disclosure of what has happened to the "Jewish culture and to the Jewish writers in the Soviet Union brought on serious disturbance in the ranks of Jewish Communists and especially among the Jewish progressives throughout the country. The fact that many Jewish Communist writers were executed in the Soviet Union, Jewish organizations there were dissolved and Jewish newspapers were suppressed became so serious of a problem in this country that Gene Dennis, I was told, found it necessary to call in a few Jewish Communist leaders to talk over the situation."

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[redacted] said that [redacted] told her that at this conference between Dennis and some of the Jewish Communist leaders it was decided to call special meetings "to explain to the Jewish population why a thing like this happened in the Soviet Union."

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The first meeting on this subject was held on April 25th, 1956 at the Academy Hall in New York. Similar meetings will be held all over the country.

[redacted] told me that about 400 people came to the Academy Hall meeting. Most of those present at this meeting were Communist and progressive functionaries of Jewish cultural and mass organizations and trade unions.

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The chairman of this meeting was [redacted].

The main speaker at the meeting was P. Novick, editor of the Morning Freiheit. Novick told the meeting that "the pogrom on the Jewish Culture in the Soviet Union and the execution of Jewish writers was accomplished by anti-Soviet counter-revolutionary forces the aim of which was the destruction of the Soviet Union. Novick underlined that the Beria plot against the Jewish writers and ^{later} the Jewish Doctors was possible only because of the Stalin cult and the Stalin one-man rule."

att 1 to 100 9583-296
me

"Novick underlined that the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union decided to re-establish collective leadership, socialist democracy and socialist justice."

"Novick underlined that the anti-Semitic Act in the Soviet Union were perpetrated by anti-soviet groups which received support from foreign reactionaries. Anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union was not a government supported movement- it was an anti-Soviet movement and it was part of a plot directed against other nationals in the Soviet Union. This plot of the Beria anti-revolutionary gang was directed against the Soviet Nation as a whole."

"Novick also spoke about the many millions of Jews the Soviet Union saved during the Hitler invasion of Poland and the Ukraine."

[redacted] told me that about 20 people participated in the discussion which followed Novick's speech.

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"[redacted] and other speakers reaffirmed their believe in socialism and in the leadership of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Many of the speakers conceded that what has happened to the Jewish Culture in the Soviet Union came as a terrible shock to Communists and progressives all over the world but the latter events-the Stalin Cult-and the fact that the Soviet leaders themselves exposed the tragic happenings and injustice done by the Beria gang brought new hope and a stronger believe in socialist justice. No capitalist country will ever recognize its mistakes. Only a socialist country will come out and recognize its mistakes and failures and will do every thing possible to correct such mistakes. It was also underlined by some speakers that the professional anti-Communists and anti-Soviet forces will not succeed in their attempt to create a new anti-Soviet hysteria because the masses of the people see clearly that the new Soviet leadership recognized its mistakes and is leading the world to peace and socialism."

"The speakers called upon the people to repel the attacks of the enemies of the progressive movement in the United States and to build and strengthen the progressive movement, the Morning Freiheit and to strengthen the struggle for peace."

J. Morris

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK

DATE: 6/6/56

FROM: SA [REDACTED] (100-26603-C40)(20-10)

SUBJECT: CP, USA DISTRICT #2, BRONX COUNTY
IS-C

Source: [REDACTED] (Protect by T symbol)

Reliability: Who has furnished reliable information in the past.

Date of Activity: 5/11/56.

Date Received: 5/15/56.

Received by: SA [REDACTED]

Location: [REDACTED]

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The information contained in this report should not be disseminated outside of the Bureau unless it is paraphrased.

The informant reported on a meeting of the North-West Section of the Bronx CP held at the Bainbridge Headquarters of the ALP on 5/11/56.

1- [REDACTED] (P&C)(7-4)
1-NY 100-102126 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1-NY 100-117496 [REDACTED] LNU)(20-10)
1-NY 100-121854 [REDACTED] LNU)(20-10)
1-NY 100-128109 [REDACTED] LNU)(20-10)
1-NY 100-120276 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1-NY 100-319 [REDACTED] (20-10)
1-NY 100-4931 (CP, USA)(12-14)
1-NY 100-95583 (CP, USA LINE)(12-14)
1-NY 100-45222 (MIKE QUILL)(20-10)
1-NY 100-54670 [REDACTED] (12-14)
1-NY 100-13644 (COMINFIL UE)(7-1)

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100-95583-297

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 8 1956	

WV

Report

Communist Party USA Activities

May 14, 1956
New York

Some 30 Communists came to a meeting on May 11th, 1956 of the North-West Section of the Bronx Communist Party which was held at the Bainbridge headquarters of the ALP.

Among those present at this meeting was [redacted] (resides on [redacted]) [redacted] who has a brother wearing an hearing aid- and [redacted].

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The meeting was chaired by [redacted] led a discussion on the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

He outlined a few, by name well known points, from the Communist point of view, on how and why things "contrary to Socialist morality and justice" happened in the Soviet Union,

He also stated that because the Soviet Union was "the first Socialist country in the world we and other Communist Parties never asked any questions. We took everything that came out from the Soviet Union for granted. We have had and still have faith in the wisdom and experience of the CPSU. Although, and this is my own believe, once in a while we should have asked some question." He underlined that the "road to socialism in the Soviet Union was different than the road to socialism might be in our country. Russia was a backward country industrially and Russia never knew the meaning of democracy. Our country has a high industrial development and to us democracy is a tradition."

He claimed that "there is a possibility of achieving socialism in the United States through peaceful means. Marxism-Leninism is a living science and we marxists recognize the fact that since the Bolshevik revolution the world went through tremendous social changes. The Socialist revolutions in the countries of the peoples democracies were almost bloodless revolutions, so was the socialist revolution in China. There is a possibility that in the not too distant future we will achieve socialism here entirely by parliamentary means. Of course this does not mean that we are giving up class struggle.

att 1 to 100 95582 - 298

We will never take the path of those who claim to be socialists but who are actually just a bunch of reformist. We are and will remain revolutionary marxists. The mere fact that we aim to replace capitalism with socialism is by itself an act of revolution, but it does not mean that blood must be flowing during this process." He gave credit to Stalin for his "great ability as the leader of the CPSU and of the world Communist movement but Stalin did much damage in his latter years when he built up his cult of the individual. When Stalin put himself above the party it was a signal to the Beria treators to start their counter-revolutionary activities, which expressed itself in mass executions of old Bolsheviks, Jewish writers and in the persecution of Communist leaders of the different nationalities in the Soviet Union and in the other Socialist countries which followed the policies of the Soviet Union."

During the questions and answers period the question came up: "Why didn't the present leaders of the Soviet Union fight against the Stalin cult of the individual?"

[] answered: "To fight against Stalin would have meant to jeopardize the socialist revolution, Stalin was a great leader and a stubborn fighter and the present leadership knew and were afraid for the consequences of such a fight. For the sake of saving the Socialist revolution they had to wait. It often happens even here when a union leader takes over the initiative and makes his own decisions during a strike. No matter how much and how sharply the leadership dissagrees with him they wouldn't fight him while the strike is on. They'll wait.

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"The Soviet leaders just marked their time and when the time came they exposed the errors made by Stalin and during the era of the cult of the individual."

On questions of what errors the American Communist party made [] said that "We made many errors. Here is an outstanding error we made when we tried to impose our will upon Mike Quill. We told Quill: 'You must do as we say or get out'. So, he went out. The same thing happened with [] and the same thing happened with the UE when we tried that the union should adopt our line on Korea."

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In his concluding remarks he said that "our party must, from my point of view, become a mass party aiming to attract millions of American people to the cause of Socialism. I believe that our party should work with the Socialists and with labor on all questions of a minimum program and on building and preparing our country for socialism. We believe that Socialism will come to this country as well as to the other capitalist countries in the very near future. Almost half of the world is all ready socialist and the 20th Congress laid the foundations for socialism for the whole world."

J. Morris

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK

DATE: JUN 19 1956

FROM : SAC, ALBANY(100-11574)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA,
ALBANY DIVISION, PARTY LINE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

[redacted], by initialled notes dated May 9, 1956, (filed [redacted]), advised SA ROBERT E. MARGISON:

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A Communist Party meeting was held at the [redacted] residence near Schenectady on May 7, 1956. [redacted] presided and introduced [redacted] as a Comrade from New York who had come up to give the local Comrades some information on the 20th Congress of the CPSU.

The informant stated that the following individuals were in attendance:

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

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[redacted] from Troy, [redacted] s husband
Two white men, one of whom was named [redacted]
[redacted]

cc: 2 - New York(RM)
1 - New York(100-50912) [redacted] (19)(RM)
1 - 100-8494 [redacted]
1 - 100-11594 [redacted]
1 - 100-16284 [redacted]
100-14573 [redacted]
100-14224 [redacted]
100-11782 [redacted]
100-13796 [redacted]
100-14378 [redacted]
100-9897(Security Measures)
100-13697 [redacted]
100-11752 [redacted]

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1 - 100-11574

REM:fmo
(16)

100-95583-298

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 20 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

AL 100-11574

The informant said that he met [] later and he said that he was [] but that he used to be SAM. The informant did not know []'s last name.

The informant said that [] said that the CP, USA, had been following the wrong path. He said that the wrong news was coming out of Russia and that we were getting false reports from the American people, and that we had not been getting facts from the CPSU so that we couldn't follow the right line. He said that STALIN had been trusted too much by the Comrades here and abroad and that the Comrades had been blind to the faults of STALIN.

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One of the unknown individuals, a man with light blond hair with the man named [] said that we must have the facts and that we can't evaluate the situation based on the false reports that we are getting from the American press. He said that he just couldn't understand the situation on the basis of what he can read here in America.

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[] presented three resolutions which he demanded that [] take back to New York City. He wanted to know if [] could bring the answers to these resolutions back. [] said that he couldn't, but that the answers could come back and that the National would answer these satisfactorily.

[] the informant stated, has no respect for any of his superiors in the Party. He feels he knows it all and cannot be told anything concerning the Party. [] made [] understand very clearly that although he had been sent here by the National to give the answers to the Comrades' questions, no one individual can solve all the problems and have all of the answers. [] made it a point to make it clear to [] that the Party members must have their questions answered reasonably and that they would no longer accept any old answer simply because it comes from Party leadership.

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[] from Troy apparently reads a lot and he made several contributions to the meeting. He admits that he is confused and is searching for an answer to the STALIN problem. [] feels that the Party press is written, and Party conversation takes place, on a college graduate level. He said that it sets the Party apart from the masses because it is just like trying to learn a new

AL 100-11574

language. He said that we must use simple language and get to the point in our discussions. He proved his point by requesting that several terms used by [] be explained to him..

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[] addressed just a few questions to [] to explain some points on which she was not clear.

[] challenged a statement that [] had made and disagreed on the point he was trying to put across.

b6
b7C

[] said that part of the trouble with the Party is that the Comrades read Party releases and then interpret them incorrectly. [] said it was good for a person like [] to come up and sit down and talk with the Comrades.

[] said that if the 20th Congress had not come off, we in the Communist Party, USA, would still be batting around making more errors until the 25th Congress came along. [] assured her that the CP, USA, would have found the correct line through self-criticism.

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The Security Measures of the Party were challenged and [] assured the members that the Party was going to be more open in the future and would hold fewer secret Party meetings, and more large group meetings. He said that it was only in the past year that the Comrades had tended to move freely. He said that this had hampered the Party, but it was now out and operating in the open again. He said the Party would now move along and accomplish things.

The informant, on June 12, 1956, identified a photograph of [] as being identical with [], and of [] as being identical with [].

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SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C41)

6/15/56

SA CHARLES D. SHORES, #20-9

CP, USA, DISTRICT #2
NEW YORK DIVISION
(QUEENS COUNTY CP)
IS-C

Source
Reliability

[redacted]
This informant has furnished reliable information in the past and his identity must be concealed by the use of a T-symbol.

Received
Agent
Location

6/11/56 (Orally)
SA CHARLES D. SHORES
Instant memorandum

[redacted] advised that all CP members were supposed to read the speech by KHRUSCHEV on STALIN, delivered at the 20th Soviet Communist Congress. The contents of this speech is to be the chief subject of discussion at CP meetings.

[redacted] advised the Queens Area 3 Fund Drive is going extremely slow. There seems to be much unrest among CP members at the present time due to the revelations in the KHRUSCHEV speech and some of the members in East Queens are getting especially hard to handle. The informant attributes the lack of response to the fund drive to this unrest.

[redacted] advised there has been a general lack of activity among the Queens CP members during the past two weeks. The informant said this was caused in part by the FBI pickup of EDWARD STRONG on 5/29/56 in Jamaica. Many CP members since then have been afraid to go to meetings. Several members have refused to hold meetings in their home.

[redacted] told the informant that she did not want CP meetings held at her residence, 90-34 180th Street, Queens.

- 1 - [redacted] (20-13)
- 1 - NY 100-26603-C13444
- 1 - NY 100-20649 (EDWARD STRONG)(19)
- 1 - NY 100-87211 (FACTIONALISM)(19)
- 1 - NY 100-95583 (LINE)(19)
- 1 - NY 100-71535 [redacted] (20-13)
- 1 - NY 100-128314D (FUNDS)(20-13)

100-26603-C41
CDS/bd
(8)

100-95583-299
JUN 16 1956
[redacted]
[signature]

OFFICE MEMORANDUM ***** UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-18953)
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
ORGANIZATION
IS - C

DATE: July 2, 1956

Extreme care must be used in handling and reporting the following information in order to fully protect the identity of the informant.

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)

5 - Detroit (REGISTERED MAIL)

(1 - 100-) (CP-USA, Organization)
(1 - 100-) (CP-USA, Negro Question)
(1 - 100-17161) (CP-USA, Strategy in Industry)
(1 - 100-6075) (Cominfil, UAW-CIO)
(1 - 100-13420) (CARL WINTER)

3 - Newark (REGISTERED MAIL)

(1 - 100-) (CP-USA, Organization)
(1 - 100-) (CP-USA, Negro Question) b6
(1 - 100-2974) [REDACTED] b7C

(27) -New York (REGISTERED MAIL)

(1 - 100-80641) (CP-USA, Organization)(#19)
(1 - 100-89691) (CP-USA, Domestic Administration Issues)(#19)
(1 - 100-80640) (CP-USA, Negro Question)(#19)
(1 - 100-89590) (CP-USA, Strategy in Industry)
v(1 - 100-) (CP-USA, Line)
(1 - 100-) (Cominfil, NAACP)
(1 - 100-81752) (CP-USA, Brief)
(1 - 100-9984) (AL BLUMBERG)
(1 - 100-34032) (LOU BURNHAM)
(1 - 100-23825) (BEN DAVIS, Jr.)
(1 - 100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS)
(1 - 100-10840) [REDACTED]
(1 - 100-89816) (FRED FINE) b6
b7C

(Copies continued on page 1a)

JEK:mks/RML
(49)

100-95585-300

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUL 5 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

#19

DIRECTOR, FBI

Re: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
ORGANIZATION

Copies (cont'd):

New York:

(1 - 100-9365)	(WILLIAM Z. FOSTER)
(1 - 100-19723)	(JOHN GATES)
(1 - 100-16785)	(JAMES JACKSON, Jr.)
(1 - 100-18677)	[REDACTED]
(1 - 100-50983)	[REDACTED]
(1 - 100-23290)	[REDACTED]
(1 - 100-28609)	[REDACTED]
(1 - 100-9573)	[REDACTED]
(1 - 100-50090)	(SID STEIN)
(1 - 100-66211)	[REDACTED]
(1 - 100-20649)	(ED STRONG)
(1 - 100-23290)	[REDACTED]
(1 - 100-18672)	(MAX WEISS)
(1 - 100-54899)	(LEON WOFSY)

b6
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3 - Philadelphia (REGISTERED MAIL)
(1 - 100-) (CP-USA, Organization)
(1 - 100-) (CP-USA, Negro Question)
(1 - 100-7800) (ED STRONG)

3 - San Francisco
(1 - 100-) (CP-USA, Organization)
(1 - 100-) (CP-USA, Negro Question)
(1 - 100-) (WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN)

6 - Chicago
(1 - A)134-46)
(1 - 100-3470) (MORRIS CHILDS)
(1 - 61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
(1 - 100-18956) (CP-USA, Negro Question)
(1 - 100-19841) (MAX WEISS)

DIRECTOR, FBI

Re: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA
ORGANIZATION

Re New York teletype dated June 23, 1956, and captioned, "Communist Party - USA, Organization, IS - C, CINAL."

Referenced teletype contained a summary of the first day of sessions of the three day meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA, which was held at the Jefferson School of Social Science in New York City from June 22 through June 24, 1956. The following constitutes the details of the first day of sessions of this three day meeting as furnished by CG 5824-S* to SA JOHN E. KEATING on June 22, 1956:

Persons in Attendance

CG 5824-S* advised that the following persons were in attendance at the sessions held on Friday, June 22, 1956:

AL BLUMBERG
LOU BURNHAM
MORRIS CHILDS
BEN DAVIS, Jr.
EUGENE DENNIS
[REDACTED]
FRED FINE
WILLIAM Z. FOSTER
JOHN GATES
JAMES JACKSON, Jr.
[REDACTED]
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
[REDACTED]
WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
SID STEIN
[REDACTED]
ED STRONG
[REDACTED]
MAX WEISS
CARL WINTER
LEON WOFSY

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Informant advised that FINE, GATES, JACKSON, [REDACTED] and STEIN did not arrive at this meeting until some time after 4:00 p.m. WILLIAM Z. FOSTER was present for the morning and early afternoon sessions but left the meeting some time shortly after 4:00 p.m. The sessions of June 22, 1956, con-

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cluded at approximately 9:00 p.m. WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN, Chairman of the California Communist Party District, was the Chairman for the sessions of this National Committee meeting held June 22, 1956.

Agenda for this Meeting of the
National Committee of the Communist Party

CG 5824-S* advised that the following points were placed on the agenda for this meeting of the National Committee:

1. Some aspects of the Negro question.
2. A report on Communist Party organization with the report to be given by a representative of the New York Communist Party District.
3. The current discussion in the Communist Party, USA, on the 20th Congress of the CPSU.
4. Good and Welfare.

CG 5824-S* stated that only the first point on the agenda was covered during the sessions of June 22, 1956. Since this was a discussion of the Negro question, the informant advised that undoubtedly some persons who are not members of the National Committee were invited to attend the session of June 22, 1956, in order to participate in the discussion on the Negro question.

Main Report on the Negro Question
by BEN DAVIS, Jr.

CG 5824-S* stated that BEN DAVIS, Jr., made the main report on some aspects of work among the Negro people. Informant advised that undoubtedly DAVIS' report will be published in the near future.

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There was a motion adopted at the end of the sessions of June 22, 1956, suggesting that the Administrative Committee of the National Committee and the Secretariat of the Negro Commission of the CP confer for the purpose of editing DAVIS' report so that it can be published as soon as possible.

Background Information
on the Negro Question

DAVIS stated that during the cold war Jim Crow received a serious setback. He stated that in the interest of foreign policy and international good will the United States had to make a pretense at fighting Jim Crow. The Communists must be given credit since they helped to tumble the walls of Jim Crowism. Today there is a great upsurge among the Negro people, the greatest upsurge among the Negroes since the days of the Civil War in the United States. He stated that the struggle for civil rights and the fight for integration is the most important domestic issue of the day. The Negro question is no longer just a topic of discussion among groups which would have been characterized as zealots a few years ago.

DAVIS stated that during the last six years, 156 books dealing with the Negro question have been published in the United States. He went on to say that the bullying by Senator JOSEPH MC CARTHY of Mrs. [REDACTED] helped to turn the tide against Senator MC CARTHY. The international aspects of the Negro problem helped to right American foreign policy. The Negro people have transoceanic allies. These allies are located in a world which is vastly different from the world of a decade or so ago. Explaining this, DAVIS stated that there is a world of Socialism, there is an anti-colonial world, there is a series of anti-colonial revolts. All of these conditions have had some influence upon the struggle for Negro liberation.

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The Communist Party has carried on a constant struggle for Negro rights over the period of the last 2½ decades and the Party has helped considerably in the struggle for Negro

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liberation during this period. The Negro people are thinking about a solution to their problems now, not a century from now. DAVIS predicted that there is a period of sharp struggles ahead, struggles similar to those which have been dramatized in the past by the murder of EMMETT LOUIS TILL, the Montgomery, Alabama, boycott, the [REDACTED] case and similar events. DAVIS stated however that despite the great upsurge on the part of the Negro people, now is not the time for complacency.

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Jim Crowism, the Dixiecrats and
the United States Government's
policy on civil rights

DAVIS then went into a discussion dealing with Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND of Mississippi and the Dixiecrats. He pointed out that they are the main enemies and that they have to be defeated. He also attacked the administration of President EISENHOWER, stating that the EISENHOWER administration is passive and gives a cover to the Dixiecrats. According to DAVIS, Jim Crowism currently constitutes a national crisis in American society.

There is also a crisis within the Democratic Party. This crisis pertains to the Dixiecrats and their influence on civil rights and the fight against Jim Crowism. He stated that some of the crisis on these matters overflows into the Republican Party.

He stated that undoubtedly the struggle currently taking place will have an effect upon the outcome of the 1956 elections and will also have an influence on American foreign policy. He went on to point out that the Negro people in the South are carrying the banner of progress. He said that no civil rights measure has been passed by Congress in the last 69 years. Yet with the Dixiecrats in power, allied with the Mc Carthyites and other reactionaries, they have passed many laws which aimed at whittling away at constitutional liberties. He stated that he had reference to such laws as the Mc Carran Act and the Taft-Hartley Act.

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Shifting of the Negro Struggle
from the North to the South

DAVIS stated that the center of gravity of the Negro struggle has shifted from the North to the South. The removal of the stench of the slave market in the South will help the Negro struggle in the North. Montgomery, Alabama, is now the heart of the Negro struggle. He went on to point out that in all of these struggles for civil rights the students, particularly the Negro students, are playing a most important role. He discussed at some length the tactic of non-violent resistance. He showed how it was a further development of the MAHATMA GHANDI non-violence movement. In Montgomery, Alabama, the Negro working class is very influential and is using its economic power. According to DAVIS, the leadership of the movement in the South is native to the South. In all of the cities of the South where a struggle is being conducted for civil rights and economic rights, the leadership is native. Until a few years ago the South took its leadership from the North. The South is no longer the solid South. It is unfreezing. Many of the white people in the South now favor desegregation. The bulk of the white people are not aggressive or hostile, neither are they favorable to the Negro cause. Even if they are saturated with chauvinism they are not openly hostile and are not participating in lynch mobs as they did in days of old.

DAVIS continued by stating that the majority of the membership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is now residing in the South. He said that there are new trends in this organization inasmuch as the NAACP no longer confines its struggles merely to legal battles but also joins with and leads mass movements for other demands.

Next, DAVIS went into a discussion on the White Citizens Councils. He said that the White Citizens Councils are not of the same composition as the Ku Klux Klan. They are supposedly composed of the so-called best citizens and

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and the leading citizens in the community. These leading citizens are bankers, manufacturers and professionals who do not trust the masses. They want to have power in their own hands and lead whatever masses they can influence. He said that the White Citizens Councils are putting pressure on the labor movement of the South and are meeting with some success in this regard. This is evidenced by the fact that in some places some union people are lining up with the White Citizens Councils.

He stated that Senators EASTLAND and MC CARTHY have joined hands to interfere with the Constitution and this is evidenced by their joint struggle against the Supreme Court and in their fight for interposition.

The national coalition for Negro rights must direct its main fire against the EASTLANDS, the BYRNESes, the TALMADGES, etc. It must also pressure the Federal government to take measures to enforce the constitution in the southern part of the United States. The right to vote is the central demand in the South.

DAVIS then went on to point out that with the recession of the war danger national unity became weakened and as national unity became weakened the capitalist class could no longer influence even a section of the Negro middle class to go along with the policies of the United States.

The Communist Party
and the Negro question

DAVIS stated that it is necessary for the Communist Party to marshall its forces for a struggle in the South. The task of the Communist Party is to support the national front of all classes of the Negro people which are united for liberation. However, the vanguard, namely, the Communist Party, must have its own program. At this point BEN DAVIS admitted that he had made some mistakes and that these mistakes had tended to isolate the Communist Party and separate the Party

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from the masses of the Negroes. He stated that the main error of the Communist Party is passivity, passivity in the light of the needs of the Negro people. This passivity is exhibited by the neglect by the Party of the southern part of the United States. The Party must pay more attention to the South, must send more forces to the South, must do everything possible to overcome this neglect of the South. He said that the Communist Party must be present in the flesh in the South. At the present time we still give direction to Party activities in the South by remote control. We also have to eliminate routineism in our attitude toward the South if we are to participate in this great upsurge of struggle.

DAVIS went on to say that the Communists have too often chosen issues for the purpose of making headlines instead of giving consideration to the vital needs of the Negro people. Here are some of the issues on the Negro question in the North in the order in which DAVIS sees them. First of all there is the question of housing. Second there is the question of the struggle for integration. Third there is the question of jobs for the Negro people. He said that when unemployment exists an explosive situation is built up. Therefore, the Communist Party has a vital role to play in order to join these issues in the North with the issues in the South for the purpose of waging a fight against monopoly capitalism.

At this point, DAVIS went into a review of the Double V campaign which was conducted during World War II by the "Pittsburgh Courier." He explained that the Double V Campaign was supposed to be a campaign which would win the battle against Jim Crowism and would also help the United States to win World War II. According to DAVIS, this Double V campaign was ignored by the Communist Party because of the influence of Browderism on the Party at the time that this campaign was being carried on. He said that this did not do the Communist Party any good in regard to its relationship with the Negro people. He said that the

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Communist Party has a role to play in order to unite the diverse movements for Negro rights and if we ignore any facets of the struggle for Negro rights we will isolate ourselves from the Negro masses.

DAVIS went on to say that the Communist Party has to put an end to tailism and that the Party must find new ways to come forward in its own name. He said that members of the Communist Party should not claim ideological superiority but should in a modest and simple way work in the very mass movements which have been created by the Negro people. Concerning the gains which have been made by the Negro people, DAVIS stated that in many cases these are uneven or merely token gains. In this connection he mentioned the integration in the armed services, the integration in some educational institutions and an occasional breakthrough in job opportunities which were formerly lily-white.

DAVIS said that the Negro people, both in the North and in the South, are still an oppressed people. He said that there is a 15 billion dollar Negro market which means that this is a market larger than the Canadian market. According to DAVIS, the capitalists are taking a look at this market and are trying either to completely win this market or to expand their present foothold in this market.

To protect the limited gains which have been made by the Negro people, the Communist Party must understand that there is a sense of urgency required on the part of Communist Party members. The Communist Party need not be apologetic. We were the first ones to let the world know of the Negro oppression in the United States. On the other hand, we cannot rest on our laurels. We need self-criticism and re-evaluation of our work. We have been historically left-sectarian and now sectarianism has caught up with us. We must view with alarm our isolation from the Negro masses.

Then DAVIS cited some reports from the Communist Party districts which reflect that the Party has been making some changes in its method of work among the Negroes and

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that an effort is being made to break away from left-sectarianism. He went on to discuss the fight on both the right and the left danger but placed the most emphasis on left-sectarianism. In this regard he mentioned the National Negro Labor Council and stated that this was a left-center group which was organized by the Communist Party. The National Negro Labor Council became the principal base of the Communists, but as a result of the organization of the National Negro Labor Council, the best cadre of the Communist Party became active in this organization and as a result separated itself from the mainstream of the Negro struggle. Because of this, some of our cadre are now frustrated because they are unable to join or are unable to become a part of some of the broad struggles currently taking place among the Negro people.

He also stated that the Communist Party committed some leftist and negative errors in regard to its relationship with such people as A. PHILIP RANDOLPH and [REDACTED]
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Turning his attention to civil rights, DAVIS stated that the Communist Party committed some leftist errors in this regard. He said that the Party orientation on President TRUMAN's report on civil rights was incorrect. He stated that the Communist Party placed emphasis on the anti-Communist statements which were contained in this report while the Negro people hailed the positive aspects of the report. As a result, we were opposed to the Negro leaders who saw positive things in TRUMAN's report. In the meantime, we depended upon the Progressive Party in the struggle for Negro rights and as a result further isolated ourselves from the Negro people. DAVIS stated that he was partly responsible for some of these errors; however, persons such as HENRY WINSTON and others opposed this policy and they proved to be more correct that he was.

At this point in his report, DAVIS stated that there is a need for a theoretical document which would deal with the matter of Self-Determination in the Black Belt.

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He stated however that he would not anticipate this document but he thought that when this document is being written it will be necessary to take into consideration the concrete conditions which exist in the United States.

On this matter, DAVIS went into a discussion of JOSEPH STALIN's contributions to clarify the national question and the Negro question. He stated further that the Communist Party, USA, utilized some of STALIN's dogmatism in this regard and added some of its own dogmatism to the analysis of the national question and as a result some mistakes were made. It is necessary however to give due regard to the complexity of this matter. He said that he was referring to the different aspects of the Negro question in the North and in the South. He said that the Party must also give credit to the comrades who fought sectarianism.

DAVIS said that the Party needs to create an atmosphere in which Party members can state their views and make a turn in their philosophy without being attacked. It is therefore necessary to agree against using left-sectarianism as a cliché. The main line of the Party, the line which directs its force against left-sectarianism, will help to root us in the mainstream and will necessarily help to root us among the main masses of the Negro people.

White Chauvinism

Next, DAVIS discussed the question of white chauvinism. He stated he was not certain that the term "white chauvinism" should be used any longer and that perhaps consideration should be given to finding a new term. He said that in 1949 the Communist Party fell into left excesses with regard to white chauvinism. A lot of harm was done to the Party because of way in which the Party fought against white chauvinism at that time. On the other hand, the Party must not abandon the fight against white chauvinism and while we are fighting white chauvinism we must preserve Negro-white unity.

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DAVIS stated that after the 1949 drive against white chauvinism the Party created a sort of vacuum. Therefore there are no excesses at this time on this matter. However, we should not substitute Negro nationalism for white chauvinism as the main danger to the Party. He emphasized that white chauvinism is still the main danger. It is the ideology of the bourgeoisie and is alien to the Communist ideology. In 1945 we separated the fight against white chauvinism from the campaign or struggle for civil rights. We concentrated on the white comrades in the Party. While we did have some white chauvinism in the Party it is different from the chauvinism we find among the people in general. We need to battle white chauvinism ideologically, not merely administratively, in the Party. In concluding his remarks on this topic, DAVIS stated that we should not postpone the struggle against white chauvinism until a special campaign is organized.

Then DAVIS briefly talked about the lack of Negro women cadres and stated that the few Negro women who are in the Party do not occupy important posts. He further stated that the Negro Commissions of the Communist Party, USA, are not to be a buffer between Negro and white comrades but should play their proper role in the Communist Party organization.

Correction of Errors

On the correction of errors, DAVIS stated that it is necessary for the white comrades to give considerably more help. He stated that we need to improve the cadre situation in all districts. There are not enough Negroes in leadership. We also need to improve our ideological struggle against white chauvinism. In this way we will correct the situation and show the need for more cadres. We have to improve the relationship between white and Negro comrades. Passivity in the struggle for Negro rights feeds bourgeoisie nationalism.

DAVIS stated that some people slander the Communist Party. They charge us with use of the Negro cadres

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for foreign aims. He said that this is all wrong and that while we have made some zigs and zags in our policy these relate back to the time of EARL BROWDER. He again urged that the white comrades use their initiative in the fight against white chauvinism. He stated that the Negro people still have a friendly attitude toward the Communist Party but that they are not willing to abandon their mass organizations either for the Communist Party or for some organizations established by the Communist Party. He stated that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is preparing to tackle the interracial marriage laws in the 29 states which still ban interracial marriages.

DAVIS stated that the Communist Party should not idolize the Negro comrades who overestimate Negro reformism. He said that the Communist Party must establish a base among the working class of the Negroes but at the same time it must align itself with all classes of the Negro people.

In conclusion, he stated that the liberation struggle in the United States was inspired by the Bandung Conference; however, the struggle in this country will not necessarily take the same form as the anti-colonial struggles in other continents. Just before he concluded, DAVIS praised WILLIAM Z. FOSTER for his contribution in the struggle for Negro rights.

Remarks of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

CG 5824-S* advised that at the conclusion of the report of BEN DAVIS, a few remarks were made by WILLIAM Z. FOSTER.

FOSTER stated that he wanted to make a few statements about self-determination. He said that during the cold war the Communist Party committed two deviations. One of these he called the HARRY HAYWOOD deviation and the other he called excesses on white chauvinism. He stated that the latter was the most fantastic deviation. According to

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FOSTER, the mistake made by the Communist Party was the failure to grasp the meaning of the slogan "Self-Determination." With regard to Self-Determination, he said that the Communist Party committed a sectarian error by accepting the STALIN concept of a nation too rigidly and too dogmatically. He also stated that the advance of the Negroes to nationhood is not in a straight line. He stated that some nations can develop to nationhood and may still be absorbed by other nations or that some force may interfere with their development. He cited Ireland as an example of this.

According to FOSTER, the South is a nation. The North is integrated. He stated that the north of Scotland has been absorbed into Great Britain even though there are tendencies to nationhood in Scotland. He said that it is possible that the Negro people in the United States may go through a similar stunted development. The Negro people may also go through an evolution such as the Indian tribes have gone through. We must not however abandon the national concept of the Negro people. At the same time the slogan of Self-Determination is not good for the United States.

Remarks of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

Informant advised that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT followed WILLIAM Z. FOSTER in the discussion period.

LIGHTFOOT was of the opinion that the BEN DAVIS report was very good and that it will help the Communist Party program on the Negro question. LIGHTFOOT stated that at one time the Communist Party used a considerable amount of initiative in the struggle for Negro rights. Meetings dealing with Negro rights were called in the name of the Party. Later, under changed conditions, the Party could no longer call such meetings. It was at this time that the Party began to substitute left organizations for the mass organizations of the Negro people. He then asked how the Party could attract Negro people to its banner. He said that the Party is influential in the NAACP but that the Party does not reflect its own strength under its own banner in the mass

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organizations of the Negro people. He said that perhaps the Party will have to raise a slogan of Socialism as the way to attract the Negro people. He went on to say that he had some misgivings in 1946 about the slogan of Self-Determination in the Black Belt; however, after GIL GREEN was slapped down because he questioned the advisability of utilizing the slogan of Self-Determination in the Black Belt, LIGHTFOOT did not voice his opinion. He stated that he agrees that at the present time the Party should abandon the slogan of Self-Determination in the Black Belt.

Remarks of ED STRONG

LIGHTFOOT was followed in the discussion by ED STRONG.

STRONG stated that the Party needs a new program on the Negro question. He said that the problem is how to involve the Negro people in the Communist Party and how to use possibilities to bring into the ranks of the Communist Party Marxists who will not join the Communist Party at this time. He stated that in his travels he has had contact with very influential Negroes who are active in the NAACP, in churches, in the Democratic Party and in other organizations. He stated that many of these people think like Marxists, some of them say they are Marxists, most of them are doing good work, but none of them will join the Communist Party. STRONG stated that perhaps if the Party formed another organization persons similar to those he mentioned would be willing to join such an organization.

Remarks of CARL WINTER

CARL WINTER took the floor next and talked about the need for a careful scientific analysis before the Party drops the slogan of Self-Determination in the Black Belt. Then he pointed out that the report of BEN DAVIS did not deal sufficiently with the Negro-labor alliance. He stated that recently some Negroes have been defeated for office

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in elections in a number of union locals in the automobile industry. He sees a widening split between the Negroes and the general labor movement in the automobile industry. He also foresees a growing split between the Negroes and the Democratic Party in the State of Michigan. He said that somehow or other the Communist Party must put a stop to these splits by finding the causes of them and correcting them.

Remarks of [redacted]

[redacted] followed CARL WINTER in the discussion. [redacted] stated that he was in substantial agreement with BEN DAVIS but at the same time said that he thought that the report of BEN DAVIS was too balanced. He stated that DAVIS countered every issue of left-sectarianism with a right deviation and that on the whole DAVIS seemed to emphasize the right danger whereas the right danger is not the real danger to the party. [redacted] also denied that white chauvinism is the main danger to the Party. He said that the Negro people who join the ranks of the Communist Party bring in more excess baggage than the white workers.. He cautioned against going on a spree in the fight against white chauvinism inside the Communist Party as the Party did during the period 1949-53.

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CG 5824-S commented that on the whole the remarks of [redacted] were in disagreement with nearly every proposition contained in the report of BEN DAVIS.

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Remarks of [redacted]

[redacted] followed [redacted] and said that if left-sectarianism has been the main characteristic of our work in recent years in all categories, then it is certainly true that it has also characterized the field of Negro work. He said however that white chauvinism is not the main danger to the Communist Party nor was it the main danger to the Party in the past.

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Remarks of WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN

SCHNEIDERMAN stated that he believes that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT did not have the correct answer when he said that the Communist Party will be able to win the Negro people by holding forth the banner of Socialism. He said that the Party must find a way to play a role at each step of the Negro struggle and he doubts that the slogan of Socialism will do this. SCHNEIDERMAN cited some examples of how the Communist Party can play a role in the struggle for Negro rights. He stated that the NAACP leadership in Oakland, California, did not want to call a meeting to protest the murder of EMMETT TILL. SCHNEIDERMAN said that some Party people stated that since the Party was now going to be active in mass movements, in this case it might be wise for the Party to remain passive. He stated however that some of the Party members did use initiative and formed an alliance with some ministers and compelled the NAACP leadership to call a number of mass meetings. The Party members were able to participate in these mass meetings. SCHNEIDERMAN said that this shows that the Party can use initiative; however, if the Party is isolated from the mass movements then it will be unable to play any role in the struggle for Negro rights. Therefore, the main thing is not to become isolated from the mass movements of the Negro people.

He also emphasized that the main danger to the Party is sectarianism in all fields of Party activity. He said that if we guard against sectarianism we will automatically be waging a fight against white chauvinism. We should also fight the excesses on white chauvinism since they will interfere with our progress in the fight to end the isolation of the Party.

In conclusion, however, SCHNEIDERMAN stressed the need for sensitivity in regard to the complaints of the white comrades about white chauvinism.

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Remarks of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] spoke next. She stated that she agreed with the main line as it was contained in the report of BEN DAVIS. She stated however that the report should have embraced a longer period of time because there were breakthroughs and roots were established in the mainstream in the Negro community by the Communist Party. She also emphasized that the Party needs to treat white chauvinism as an important issue.

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Remarks of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] spoke and said that the Party needs an ideological struggle on white chauvinism but at the same time we should guard against excesses. He then spoke about the Negro-labor alliance. He said that labor has made significant and serious advances on the Negro question. As an example he stated that the majority of locals in the United States have taken some action with regard to the murder of EMMETT TILL and with regard to the bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama. On the other hand, there are some negative factors in the trade union movement. In quite a few locals, Negro leaders have lost union elections in recent months. He then mentioned the struggle in Local 600 which is the UAW local at the Ford Plant in Detroit. He said there has been a fight in Local 600 between the FEPC Committee and the leadership of this local. He said that it is necessary for the Party to examine this situation and that he thinks that BEN DAVIS should have given more attention to the question of the Negro-labor alliance. He stated that he realized that BEN DAVIS had some written material on the Negro-labor alliance and he thought that DAVIS should not have skipped this material in his oral report.

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Remarks of MAX WEISS

[REDACTED] was followed by MAX WEISS. WEISS stated that he was in complete agreement with most of the report of BEN DAVIS. He also stated that it was regrettable

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that DAVIS left out that section of his report dealing with the Negro-labor alliance. He also stated that he thought that DAVIS should have dealt in some detail with the slogan of Self-Determination. In fact, he stated that he thought that the persons who helped DAVIS to prepare his report should have been prepared to deal with the slogan of Self-Determination at this National Committee meeting. WEISS stated that in his opinion the Communist Party should abandon the slogan of Self-Determination. He said that this slogan was never correct and that Self-Determination is not the same as integration, as CARL WINTER would have us believe. He said that the slogan of Self-Determination is in collision with the desires of the Negro people. The Party arrived at the slogan of Self-Determination in the Black Belt without an objective examination of the situation in the South. We utilized this slogan as a result of a mere analogy with other people's struggles for liberation in other countries. He stated that the fight for equal rights can be compared to a national movement. In conclusion, WEISS stated that with regard to white chauvinism that he thinks that the Party should carry on a struggle against white chauvinism but it should not be placed as the main danger inside of the Communist Party.

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WEISS was followed by who also stated that he advised that the Party should abandon the term white chauvinism and find a substitute for it. He stated however that he does not know whether or not white supremacy would be a better term to use. He also stated that we should get a simpler definition of white chauvinism. He said we should not call every mistake or every misuse of any word white chauvinism. He also stated that he agreed with the main line of the report of BEN DAVIS but that he believes that DAVIS' report was weak in the programmatic perspectives. He stated that we need to give more attention to program and in this way we will overcome some of our sectarianism.

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Remarks of LOU BURNHAM

LOU BURNHAM was the next speaker in the discussion and he also agreed with the substance of the report of BEN DAVIS. BURNHAM said he thought that DAVIS had correctly placed the problem of white chauvinism. He described it as the greatest threat to the Negro liberation movement. He stated that white chauvinism as dramatized by the Dixiecrats and the Citizens White Circle Leagues is a serious danger to the struggle for Negro civil rights. He stated he wanted to go on record as being in sharp disagreement with the remarks of [REDACTED] who stated that Negro nationalism is the main danger to the Communist Party. He also stated that he cannot accept the idea that Negro workers who enter the ranks of the Communist Party retain more ideological baggage, alien to Marxism, such as nationalism, than do the white workers who enter the ranks of the Party.

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Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

Informant advised that EUGENE DENNIS was the next speaker in the discussion period and he also agreed with the main approach or the substance of the report of BEN DAVIS. DENNIS also stated that he thought that DAVIS should have said more about the Negro-labor alliance. He also stated that DAVIS should not have left out of his report the election problems faced by the Communist Party and the Negro people. According to DAVIS, the party needs to emphasize that the pivotal point in both the North and in the South is the struggle against the Dixiecrats and the fight for civil rights. He stated that this is significant and should be borne in mind in order to move the masses of the people. He stated that the fight against the Dixiecrats and the fight for civil rights will not end with the November elections.

DENNIS also stated that the Party needs an overall estimate of the Negro-labor alliance. He said that despite the unevenness there are big developments on civil rights and there are big developments in the Democratic Party. Labor is influencing the developments in the Democratic Party.

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There are also some big developments in Negro representation in some states. The Party is playing a role in the fight for Negro representation in the state legislatures and in Congress. It is not enough however only to point out the positive things, for there have been setbacks in regard to the Negro question in some union locals, particularly in the auto industry. There is also a growth of unemployment in the auto industry. This creates a danger and unemployment may cause a rift between the white and Negro workers.

Next, DENNIS stated that the Party needs to develop a more sustained ideological campaign to move the Party and others into the struggle for Negro rights. He stated that if there have been excesses on white chauvinism in the past that lately there has been no struggle against white chauvinism. It is therefore necessary, in his opinion, that we sharpen our ideological struggle against white chauvinism. With regard to Self-Determination, he stated that he shared the same opinion as MAX WEISS in that the Negro question remains a national question.

Remarks of [REDACTED]

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Next [REDACTED] spoke. He said that the question of white chauvinism has not been tackled by our movement. We have not examined the origin of the excesses. There was some specific basis for our last fight against white chauvinism. This was related to the Korean War and the outlook of our Party. We wanted a purification of our Party. We were getting ready to go underground and thought that we would be able to raise the standards of Party membership. Any manifestation of white chauvinism or what was considered to be white chauvinism was hit hard. He said that the white comrades in the Party should have lead the fight against white chauvinism but that they did not do so.

He said that the article of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER on the Negro question which appeared in 1953 was untimely.

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He said it should have been written in 1949 or 1950. When FOSTER wrote this article against excesses it was too late. The situation was already different. He said that there is a war of formulation going on as to whether or not white chauvinism is the main danger. He thought instead of having a war of formulation there should be a concrete discussion on white chauvinism. White chauvinism is not merely an ideological struggle inside the Communist Party. It is a mass struggle which needs to be carried on both inside and outside the Communist movement.

Remarks of EARL DURHAM

EARL DURHAM then spoke briefly and agreed with the main line of the report of BEN DAVIS. DURHAM stated that the Party needs to have a more scientific estimate of the South. Instead of discussing the South in the general manner we should make concrete changes in our methods of work in the South. He also stated that there has been a lessening in the struggle against white chauvinism in the Party. He charged that there is passivity on the matter of white chauvinism in the Party.

Remarks of JOHN GATES

GATES stated that the report of BEN DAVIS represents progress but it is limited to the description of the Negro people's struggle. He said that the white side of the struggle for civil rights has not yet been discussed. He thinks a leading white comrade should also make a report or for that matter should have been prepared to make a report at this meeting. On the slogan of Self-Determination, he agreed with the viewpoint of both EUGENE DENNIS and MAX WEISS. He said that this slogan has always been wrong in the United States. It was based on a slogan worked out by the Executive Committee of the Communist International in 1928. It might have been good for other countries under different conditions but it has never been good in the United States. He suggested that BEN DAVIS delete from his report such phrases as the

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"young Negro nation" inasmuch as the Negro people were never a nation in the United States. Perhaps they were an embryonic nation which was never born, but they are not a nation, either young or old. A nation needs national consciousness and he said that he never heard the word "nation" come from the mouth of a Negro, except from Negroes who are members of the Communist Party. The Negro people, according to GATES, are an oppressed national minority. They are striving for equality under a double oppression. They want equal American citizenship.

Concerning passivity and right opportunism, he suggested that before we charge passivity and right opportunism, that we should examine this matter and draw some conclusions before making these accusations. He said that he agreed with the formulation of EUGENE DENNIS on white chauvinism. He also stated that the Party needs to fight for Negro-white unity, both inside and outside the Communist Party.

Concluding remarks of
BEN DAVIS

For his concluding remarks, DAVIS apologized for having read his report too rapidly. He said that the discussion should improve his report and that the discussion shows that everyone is in agreement with the main line of his report which stressed that left-sectarianism has been the main error and also stressed the need for an emphasis on the struggle in the South. He said that the differences which came up during the discussion centered chiefly around the question of white chauvinism. He believes that the discussion should help to clarify this matter, but the approach of [redacted] will not help. DAVIS stated that the remarks of [redacted] were exactly what he was polemizing against in his report. DAVIS stated that [redacted]'s approach is too negative. We need an ideological struggle in the Party in order to strengthen our mass work. As long as the Party is weighed down with chauvinism it will not be able to carry on this mass struggle. In some places there is friction

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between Negro and white comrades and this friction also exists between Negro and white masses.

Motions

Informant advised that a motion was made and carried to approve the main line of the report of BEN DAVIS and make it available for discussion in the Communist Party.

A motion was also made and carried that the programmatic aspects of DAVIS' report should be implemented.

Comments of CG 5824-S*

CG 5824-S* commented that this is the beginning of a new discussion on the Negro question. The Party will emphasize work in mass Negro organizations and will continue to de-emphasize work in Negro organizations of the Left. This was the first time that BEN DAVIS, Jr., had admitted that left-sectarian errors have been committed in the Party's Negro work. CG 5824-S* stated that the Party will make an effort to correct left-sectarian errors in the Negro field. It was agreed that there should be a renewed fight against white chauvinism or white supremacy not only in the Communist Party but also in mass organizations and in the trade unions. The emphasis however will be on ideology with regard to white chauvinism and the Party will be more patient in the fight against white chauvinism in order to avoid the excesses and expulsions which characterized the fight against white chauvinism in the early 1950's.

On the basis of correct Marxism in the United States, the Party in the near future will abandon the slogan of Self-Determination in the Black Belt. While the Communist Party will continue to consider the Negro question a struggle of a national minority, it will join with the Negroes in their fight for equal citizenship in the United States.

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The Party will also take notice that Negroes in the Party are protesting because they are not adequately represented in leadership at all Party levels.

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